奥古斯都：从革命者到皇帝

AUGUSTUS: FROM REVOLUTIONARY TO EMPEROR

甲骨文

〔英〕阿德里安·戈兹沃西　作 品　　陆大鹏　译
（Adrian Goldsworthy）

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［英］阿德里安·戈兹沃西
（Adrian Goldsworthy）

阿德里安·戈兹沃西在牛津大学获得古代史博士学位，曾在多所大学任教。他著作颇丰，被翻译成十几种语言，包括《恺撒：巨人的一生》《西方的没落：超级大国罗马的灭亡》和《安东尼与克利奥帕特拉》。他创作了五部小说，讲述拿破仑战争时期一群英国士兵的命运沉浮，其中最新一部是《驱敌靠岸》（*Run Them Ashore*）。他目前是纽卡斯尔大学的访问学者。

陆大鹏

英德译者，南京大学英美文学硕士，热爱一切 long ago 和 far away 的东西。代表译作“地中海史诗三部曲”、《阿拉伯的劳伦斯》《金雀花王朝》《伯罗奔尼撒战争》《伊莎贝拉：武士女王》等。

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本书获得2014年美国出版商专业与学术卓越奖（PROSE）的传记与自传类荣誉奖。

令人肃然起敬……戈兹沃西先生……巧妙地运用关于奥古斯都生平的证据……这部传记，从某种意义上讲，是非常圆满的。对某些传统的说法做了有益的纠正。

——**布兰登·博伊尔，《华尔街日报》**

戈兹沃西真正的专业是军事历史学，这赋予他的传记以力度和精彩：他对奥古斯都与军队关系的描述是大师级的。

——**罗伯特·哈里斯，《伦敦周日时报》**

戈兹沃西为第一位也是最伟大的一位罗马皇帝写的这本精彩超群的传记非常细致，有很深厚的研究功底……戈兹沃西是一位卓越的历史学家和才华横溢的作家……《奥古斯都》很可能成为这位真正伟大的罗马领袖的优秀传记之一……戈兹沃西提醒读者……人性是亘古不变的。奥古斯都拉拢罗马的“媒体”，就像今天美国的任何一位政治家取悦福克斯新闻或CNN一样。我们的感觉是，奥古斯都能够很好地适应21世纪的政治，同时还能睿智地统治国家。

——**盖里·安德森，《华盛顿时报》**

恺撒·奥古斯都戏剧性的崛起和长期统治，是阿德里安·戈兹沃西的重磅级传记《奥古斯都：从革命者到皇帝》的主题。本书扣人心弦地研究了古罗马的政治生活，它与我们的政治体制十分相似，非常有趣。但美国与罗马帝国之间的不同之处同样能说明问题。

——尼克·罗密欧，《基督教科学箴言报》

戈兹沃西就像一位珠宝大师观察一块奇异冰冷的钻石一样，观察着罗马历史的核心——奥古斯都皇帝，并揭示了整个罗马世界的方方面面。但本书充满了人性的温暖，文笔优雅，激发起读者对历史的热爱。

——J.E. 兰顿，著有《军人与鬼魂：古典时代战役的历史》和《怒歌：伯罗奔尼撒战争爆发》

就像戈兹沃西给尤利乌斯·恺撒写的传记一样，本书也是任何对古罗马感兴趣的人的必读书。

——娜塔莉·海恩斯，《独立报》

对罗马最稳重也最神秘的皇帝之一所做的探索，令人着迷……这部精彩绝伦的书……令人手不释卷，可以轻松地浏览，去感受众多的人物与事件。

——詹妮弗·赛尔威，《每日邮报》

关于这段历史时期的众多著作中，奥古斯都这一人物形象有些模糊，虽然没有被忽视，但仍然很陌生。戈兹沃西的目标是把奥古斯都的生平从史海中挽救出来，刻画他的激情、残忍和意志力，正是这些

东西塑造了他那常常令人忽视的个性……阿德里安·戈兹沃西这部优异的新传记把奥古斯都这位帝国建立者的故事讲得令人拍案叫绝。

——迈克尔·奥斯林，《国家评论》

戈兹沃西创作了一部文字优雅、论据充分的奥古斯都传记，坦率而毫无粉饰或隐瞒。他筛选了奥古斯都时代的文献，将古代的证据与最顶尖的现代学术研究融合起来，创作出一部研究极其精细但可读性极强的罗马第一位皇帝的传记。本书探讨了领袖的本质、权力的运用和这两方面需要付出的代价。

——罗斯·玛丽·谢尔顿上校，弗吉尼亚军事学院

戈兹沃西娴熟地引导我们通过“现代学术”的湍流。他挑战了一些常被重复却从未得到质疑的说法……并且特别专业地介绍了罗马元老的权力斗争以及利用婚姻来巩固或破坏政治联盟的手段……《奥古斯都》是我们有可能读到的最值得信赖的奥古斯都传记。

——尼古拉斯·莎士比亚，《每日电讯报》

戈兹沃西（著有《恺撒：巨人的一生》等）对古罗马的理解显然已经深入骨髓，他的奥古斯都传记也是一部关于罗马及其发展的内容丰富的编年史……戈兹沃西质疑了为什么奥古斯都被许多历史学家遗忘，而没有被列入伟大领袖的名单（这个名单包括尤利乌斯·恺撒、亚历山大、汉尼拔和哈德良）。他提供了许多理由，证明奥古斯都应当位于这个名单的最前列。

——《科克斯书评》

奥古斯都是古罗马最伟大的领袖……但有时也是个神秘的人。阿德里安·戈兹沃西的绝妙传记会改变这一切。《奥古斯都》揭示了主题人物的个性及其所处的时代，对他的缺点做了公正评判，对许多配角的描摹也非常精彩。传记就应当是这个样子……《奥古斯都》是最优秀的传记，因为它激发读者在古代与现代之间做比较，而没有把这些比较直接表现出来。本书值得被广泛阅读，并且以最好的方式彰显了普鲁塔克那句名言的真实性：“除了歌颂罗马之外，历史还有什么？”

——泰德·劳伦斯，“华盛顿自由灯塔”网站

历史学家和传记家戈兹沃西（著有《恺撒：巨人的一生》）在这部精彩的传记（它的许多主题在现代仍然引人深思）中展现了他对古罗马的丰富知识……强有力的叙述，关于罗马生活的许多趣味盎然的细节使本书更为丰富……戈兹沃西制造的整体效果是，读者见到了一个有血有肉的人，他的整个生活距离我们现代人的体验并不远。古代的文化习俗常常让我们觉得陌生，但那些政治动机、阴谋、家庭关系和情感，在今天就像在公元纪年之初一样真实。

——《出版人周刊》，星级评论

阿德里安·戈兹沃西又写了一部大作。他的奥古斯都传记是关于奥古斯都如何取得成功的最中肯也最精妙的一本书……本书的有些部分读起来就像小说。或许，戈兹沃西在写了几本小说之后，已经懂得如何调动读者的注意力。他显然是今天最优秀的罗马历史学家。

——马丁·罗贝尔，PhDiva.com

奥古斯都去世2000周年的纪念日让我们对罗马帝国的建立者和第一位皇帝重新产生了兴趣。著名的军事历史学家阿德里安·戈兹沃西很好地抓住了这个时间点，出版了一部新传记来讲述这个重要但充满争议的历史人物……戈兹沃西客观给出了神秘而复杂的奥古斯都生平的已知事实。他娴熟地记述了奥古斯都崛起的事件，揭示了他是一位二流的军事指挥家、聪明的操纵者、自信的表演艺术家和圆熟的政治家。

——林赛·鲍威尔，UNRV网站

一部“权威性强，始终饶有趣味的新传记”。

——约翰·格雷，《新政治家》

戈兹沃西，畅销书《恺撒：巨人的一生》的作者……以动人心扉的活力，讲述了奥古斯都的军事胜利、惊心动魄的逃亡、外交成功和黑暗的家庭纠纷，把罗马帝国与东方各王国（如帕提亚）的紧张对峙描摹得活灵活现，同时还给我们提供了一些诗人，如维吉尔与贺拉斯的精彩介绍……戈兹沃西的洞见和引经据典始终非常精彩……《奥古斯都》是一部一流的通俗传记，由一位技艺娴熟的专家写成，可以与《恺撒：巨人的一生》媲美。

——史蒂夫·多纳休，《华盛顿邮报》

奥古斯都固然重要，但常常是躲在古典世界表面之后的谜。戈兹沃西的《奥古斯都》揭示了围绕在罗马第一位皇帝身边的所有戏剧与细节。本书洋溢着一种能量、学术和智慧，是一部值得细心品味的历史书。

——巴利·施特劳斯，著有《指挥大师：亚历山大、汉尼拔、恺撒和领导的天才》

这是一部能让学者感兴趣的传记，但也可以让任何对古代世界感兴趣的人轻松阅读。戈兹沃西有一种非同寻常的能力，能够让他的非常细致的历史著作吸引大众读者，这是罕见的才华。我推荐本书。

——理查德·魏格尔，《博林格林（肯塔基）每日新闻》

《奥古斯都》精彩地完结了以恺撒开始，以安东尼与克利奥帕特拉结束的三部曲。这是用英语中讲述奥古斯都生涯与其诸多自相矛盾之处的最佳长篇作品。

——卡尔·格林斯基，得克萨斯大学奥斯丁分校

戈兹沃西的目标读者应当感激，他们拥有这样一位优秀的导游，为他们提供了高水平的地图、术语表和人物表，以及罗马元老在政坛攀升过程的概括……本书价值极高，可读性极强。

——S.J.V. 迈洛克，诺丁汉大学

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当那些日子，该撒亚古士督[1]有旨意下来，叫天下人民都报名上册。这是居里扭作叙利亚巡抚的时候，头一次行报名上册的事。众人各归各城，报名上册。[2]

——《路加福音》，1世纪末

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[1] [illegible]·[illegible]

[2] Luke 2[illegible]1-3.

[3] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]32[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]54[illegible]·[illegible]

[4] [illegible]HBO[illegible]2006[illegible]2007[illegible]

[5] [illegible]

[6] Shakespeare[illegible]Julius Caesar[illegible]4.1.1.

[7] [illegible]D. Shotter[illegible]*Augustus Caesar*[illegible]2nd edn[illegible]1991[illegible]W. Eck[illegible]*The Age of Augustus*[illegible]2003[illegible]K. Galinsky[illegible]*Augustus. Introduction to the Life of an Emperor*[illegible]2012[illegible]J. Richardson[illegible]*Augustan Rome 44 BC to AD 14. The Restoration of the Republic and the Establishment of the Empire*[illegible]2012[illegible]R. Holland[illegible]*Augustus. Godfather of Europe*[illegible]2004[illegible]A. Everitt[illegible]*Augustus*[illegible]*The Life of Rome's First Emperor*[illegible]2006[illegible]

[8] Julian[illegible]Caesars 309 B-C[illegible]K. Galinsky[illegible]*Augustan Culture*[illegible]1996[illegible]p.373[illegible]

[9] [illegible]magistrates[illegible]Magistratus ordinarii[illegible]Magistrarus extraordinarii[illegible]

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[illegible]Tribune of the Plebs[illegible]

[10] [illegible]Z. Yavetz[illegible]‘The *Res Gestae* and Augustus' public image’[illegible]in F. Millar & E. Segal[illegible]eds[illegible]*Caesar Au*

gustus. Seven Aspects□1990□□pp. 1-36□□□pp. 22-6□□□J. Edmondson□ed.□Augustus□2009□□pp. 14-26□

[11] □□□□□□□□□□□□□F. Millar□*A Study of Cassius Dio*□1964□□A. Wallace-Hadrill□*Suetonius*□2nd edn□1995□□C. Pelling□*Plutarch and History*□2002□□C. Smith & A. Powell□eds□□*The Lost Memoirs of Augustus and the Development of Roman Autobiography*□2009□□R. Syme□Tacitus□2 Vols□1958□□□R. Mellor□*Tacitus*□1993□□

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他年幼的时候，得到了一个绰号“图里努斯”，要么是为了纪念他的祖先的来源地，要么是因为在他出生不久之后，他的父亲屋大维在图里镇压逃亡奴隶，赢得了一场胜利……马克·安东尼在信中常称他为图里努斯，以此辱骂他。他的回答仅仅是，这不过是他的旧名而已；他很吃惊，安东尼居然以为这样就能让他生气。

——苏埃托尼乌斯，《奥古斯都》，7.1

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他出生的那一天，元老院正在商讨喀提林阴谋的问题。屋大维迟到了，因为他的妻子在分娩。正如后来人们常说的，普布利乌斯·尼基迪乌斯[1]得知屋大维迟到的原因和孩子出生的时间后，宣称世界的主宰降生了。[2]

——苏埃托尼乌斯，2世纪初

[illegible]63[illegible]75[illegible]1[illegible]100[illegible]insulae[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]23[illegible]

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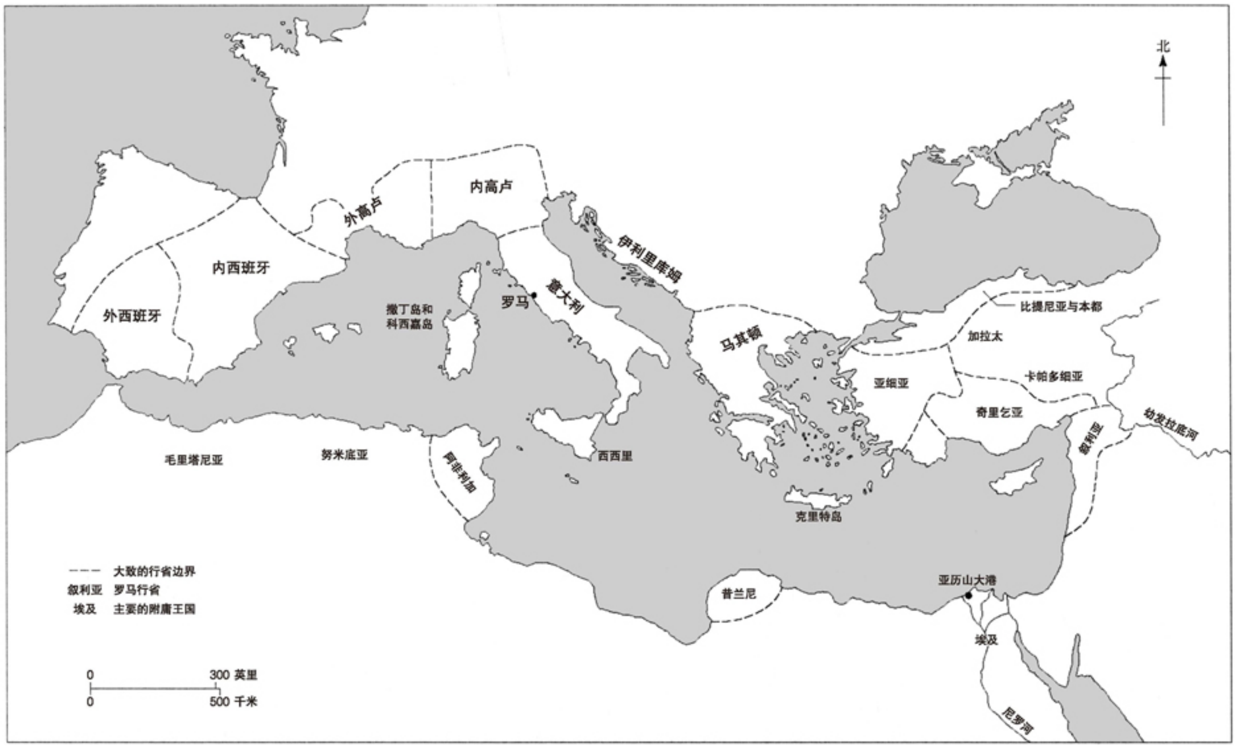

前1世纪的罗马帝国

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][26]

[illegible][27][illegible]65[illegible]64[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]70[illegible]

[illegible][28]

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10[illegible]21[illegible]122[illegible]·[illegible]100[illegible]88[illegible]78[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]vixerunt[illegible]·[illegible][36]

[1] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]98[illegible]45[illegible]58[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[2] Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 94.5.

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]·[illegible]

[5] [illegible]

[6] [illegible]1. [illegible]College of Pontiffs[illegible]Pontifex Maximus[illegible]Pontiff[illegible]15[illegible]Flamen[illegible]Vestal Virgins[illegible]Rex Sacrorum[illegible]2. [illegible]augur[illegible]3. [illegible]Quindecimviri sacris faciundis[illegible]4. [illegible]Epulones[illegible]

[7] [illegible]Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 5.1[illegible]B. Rawson[illegible]*Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*[illegible]2003[illegible]passim[illegible]pp. 99-113[illegible]S. Dixon[illegible]*The Roman Mother*[illegible]1988[illegible]pp. 106-8[illegible]237-40[illegible]B. Rawson[illegible]ed.[illegible]*Marriage[illegible]Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*[illegible]1991[illegible]·[illegible]A. Goldsworthy[illegible]*Caesar[illegible]The Life of a Colossus*[illegible]2006[illegible]pp. 124-6[illegible]Suetonius[illegible]*Caesar* 59[illegible]

[illegible]T. Barton[illegible]'Augustus and Capricorn[illegible]Astrological polyvalency and imperialrhetoric'[illegible]*JRS* 85[illegible]1995[illegible]pp. 33-51[illegible]

[8] [illegible]Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 94.1-12[illegible]94.3-4[illegible]Dio 45.1.2-3[illegible]

[9] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[10] [illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]novus homo[illegible]

[11] [illegible]A. Lintott[illegible]*The Constitution of the Roman Republic*[illegible]1999[illegible]pp. 94-120[illegible]104-9[illegible]

[12] Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 94.5[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]D. Stockton[illegible]*Cicero. A Political Biography*[illegible]1971[illegible]pp. 336-9[illegible]337[illegible]

[13] [illegible]

[14] [illegible]B. Rawson[illegible]*Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*[illegible]2003[illegible]pp. 105-12[illegible]

[15] [illegible]

[16] [illegible]B. Salway[illegible]'What's in a name[illegible]A survey of Roman onomastic practice from 700 BC-AD 700'[illegible]*JRS* 84[illegible]1994[illegible]pp. 124-45[illegible]124-31[illegible]R. Syme[illegible]'Imperator Caesar[illegible]A study in imperial nomenclature'[illegible]*Hist*

oria 7（1958），pp. 172-88 = *Roman Papers* Vol.1（1979），pp. 181-96。

[17] Plutarch，*Cato the Elder* 20.3.□□□□□□□□□□□□K. Bradley，‘Wet-nursing at Rome. A Study in Social Relations’，in Rawson（1986），pp. 201-29。

[18] Suetonius，*Augustus* 94.6.

[19] □□□□□□□□□□□□P. Matyszak，*Mithridates the Great. Rome's Indomitable Enemy*（2004）□□A. Mayor，*The Poison King*（2010）。

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[25] □□□□□□□□□Suetonius，*Caesar* 13□□□Plutarch，*Caesar* 7；Dio 37.1-3；Velleius Paterculus 2.43.3□□□□A. Goldsworthy，

Caesar□*The Life of a Colossus*□2006□□pp. 124-7=□2007□□pp. 150-4□

[26] □□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Caesar*□*The Life of a Colossus*□2006□□pp. 31-4 =□2007□□pp. 37-41□□□□□□D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 73-8□96-8□100-07□

[27] □□□□□□□□□149□□146□□

[28] T. Mitchell□*Cicero*□*The Ascending Years*□1979□□pp. 149-76□222-5□D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 79-84.

[29] □□□Sallust□*Bell. Cat*.26-7□D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 105-6□T. Mitchell□*Cicero*□*The Ascending Years*□1979□□pp. 226-32□T. Rice Holmes□*The Roman Republic* Vol.1□1928□□pp. 259-72□'residentalien'□*inquilinus civis urbis Romanam*□□Sallust□*Bell. Cat*.31.9□□□□□□Cicero's *Pro Murena*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[31] □□□□□Sallust□*Bell. Cat*.59.3□

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[34] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□·□□□

[35] Cicero□*In Pisonem* 6.

[36] □□□□□□□D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 110-42□T. Mitchell□*Cicero□The Ascending Years*□1979□□pp. 219-40□□□□□□□□□□□□□□M. Gelzer□*CaesarPolitician and Statesman*□1968□□pp. 50-52□C. Meier□*Caesar*□1996□□pp. 170-72□A. Goldsworthy□*Caesar□The Life of a Colossus*□2006□□pp. 115-42 =□2007□□pp. 144-72□

[illegible] “[illegible]”

他的父亲盖乌斯·屋大维虽然不是贵族出身，却来自一个非常显赫的骑士家族，是个尊贵、正直、清白和非常富裕的人。[1]

——维莱伊乌斯·帕特尔库鲁斯，约公元30年

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible][2][illegible]4[illegible][3]

[illegible]·[illegible]205[illegible]·[illegible][4]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][5]

[illegible]·[illegible]40[illegible][6][illegible]1[illegible]600[illegible]90[illegible][7]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]70[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2[illegible]500[illegible]3[illegible][8]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][9]

[illegible]·[illegible][10]

[illegible]·[illegible][11][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][12]

[illegible]62[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][13]

[illegible]70[illegible]24[illegible]4[illegible]6[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]73[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]73[illegible]·[illegible][15]

[illegible]64[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][16]

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[illegible]·[illegible]toga candidata[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”candidate[illegible][19]

[illegible]·[illegible]64[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][20]

[illegible]·[illegible]“……[illegible]”[21]

[illegible][22][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]·[illegible]63[illegible]·[illegible]100[illegible][24]

[illegible]·[illegible]62[illegible]·[illegible][25]

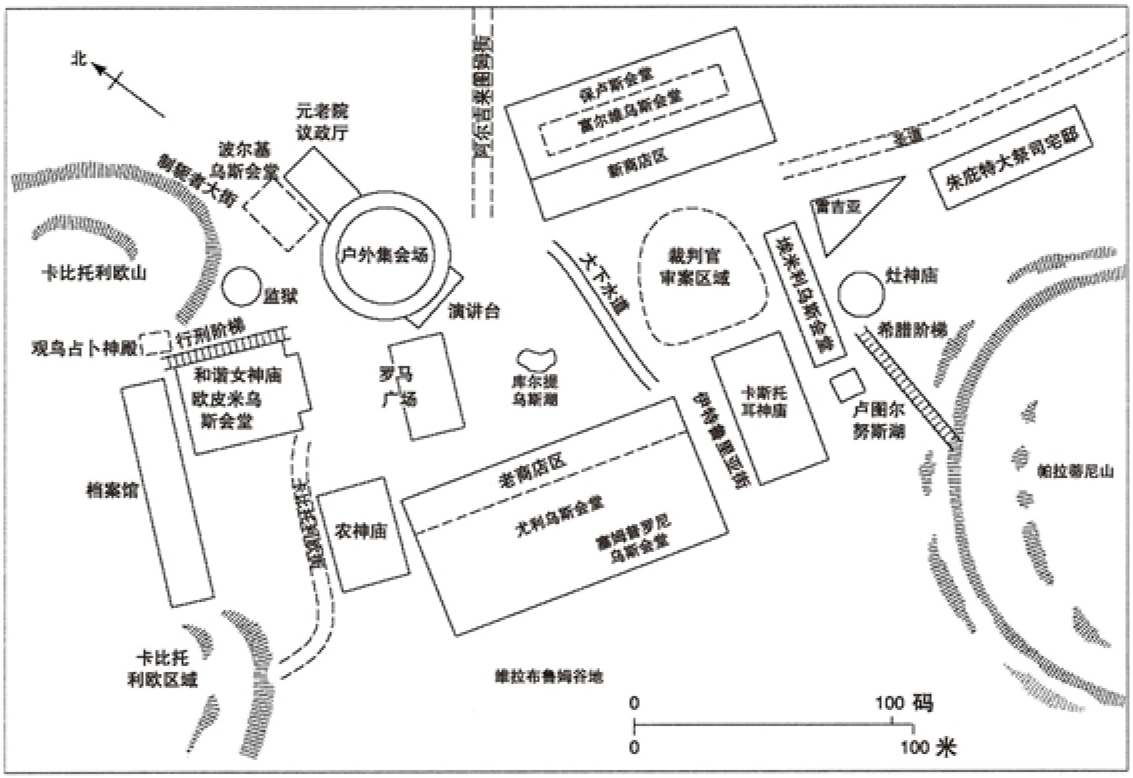
[illegible]62[illegible]70[illegible]1[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26]

[illegible]·[illegible]62[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][27]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[28][illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][29]



罗马城的中心，约前63年

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[illegible]60[illegible]·[illegible][34][illegible]·[illegible]

……聆听时必须有礼貌，裁决案件时必须宽大为怀。为了圆满解决争端，必须仔细辨明真相。盖乌斯·屋大维近期就是凭借这样的举动，赢得了群众的爱戴；在他的法庭上，执法吏第一次规规矩矩，没有胡乱生事，而参加庭审的另一名行政长官闭上了嘴巴，所有人都可以按照自己的意愿发言，想讲多久都可以。或许他这么做会让人觉得太温和，但事实上他的这种温和是为了平衡这样严酷的事件：某些“苏拉党人”被强迫归还他们用暴力和恫吓手段夺走的财物；那些当

官时发布不公正法令的人在辞官并成为普通公民后也不得不承受在任官员的不公。他的这种严酷若不是包裹在许多温和善意的糖衣之下，或许就让人难以接受了。[35]

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[illegible][39][illegible][40]

[illegible]

[illegible]5000[illegible][41]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]59[illegible]·[illegible][42]

[1] Velleius Paterculus 2.59.1-2[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible].

[2] [illegible]metropolis[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[3] Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 3[illegible]5[illegible]Velleius Paterculus 2.59.1-2[illegible]Dio 45.1.1[illegible]Tacitus[illegible]*Ann*.1.9[illegible]I. Shatzman[illegible]*Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics. Collection Latomus* Vol.142[illegible]1975[illegible]p.387[illegible]692 and 693[illegible]E. Rawson[illegible]‘The Ciceronian Aristocracy and its Properties’[illegible]in M. I.Finley[illegible]ed.[illegible]*Studies in Roman Property*[illegible]1976[illegible]pp. 85-102[illegible]2[illegible]1[illegible]J. Patterson[illegible]‘The City of Rome Revisited[illegible]From Mid-Republic to Mid-Empire’[illegible]*JRS* 100[illegible]2010[illegible]pp. 210-32[illegible].p.223fn. 112[illegible]

[4] Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 1.2.2.

[5] Suetonius□*Augustus* 2.3-3.1□Appian□*BC* 3.23□□□□□□□□□□□□C. Octavius□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□I. Shatzman□*Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics. Collection Latomus* Vol.142□1975□□pp. 75-9□

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[7] Livy□*Pers.*98□□70□□69□□□□□□□90□□□□□□□□□□□□1□□□□E. Lo Cascio□'The Size of the Roman Population□Beloch and the Meaning of the Augustan Census Figures'□*JRS* 84□1994□□pp. 23-40□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[8] Plutarch□*Crassus* 2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pliny□*NH* 33.134□□□Plutarch□*Crassus* 2 □□□□□□□□□□□I. Shatzman□*Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics. Collection Latomus* Vol.142□1975□□pp. 375-8□□□□pp. 389-93□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Ward□*Marcus Crassus and the Late Roman Republic*□1977□□P. Greenhalgh□*Pompey□The Roman Alexander*□1980□□□R. Seager□*Pompey the Great. A Political Biography*□2nd edn□2002□□

[9] □□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Crassus* 2-3□□□□□□□□□Sallust□*Bell. Cat.*48.5-6□□□□□□□E. Badian□*Publicansand Sinners*□1972□□

[10] Suetonius□*Augustus* 4.1.

[11] [illegible]·[illegible]

[12] R. Syme[illegible]*The Roman Revolution*[illegible]1960[illegible]p.112[illegible]Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 4.1[illegible]

[13] [illegible]73[illegible]·[illegible]*ILS* 47[illegible]Sallust[illegible]*Hist*.3.46 M[illegible]Florus 2.8.5[illegible]Broughton[illegible]*MRR 2*[illegible]p.110[illegible]

[14] [illegible]·[illegible]*ILS* 47[illegible]P. Brunt[illegible]*Italian Manpower 225 BC-AD 14*[illegible]1971[illegible]pp. 446-72[illegible]80[illegible]13[illegible]71[illegible]70[illegible]39[illegible]

[15] [illegible]A. Lintott[illegible]*The Constitution of the Roman Republic*[illegible]1999[illegible]pp. 133-7[illegible]9[illegible]Sallust[illegible]*Hist*.3.46M[illegible]Florus 2.8.5[illegible]

[16] A. Lintott[illegible]*The Constitution of the Roman Republic*[illegible]1999[illegible]pp. 129-33.

[17] [illegible]corona graminea[illegible]

[18] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□E. Gruen□‘Caesar as a politician’□in M. Griffin□ed.□□*A Companion to Julius Caesar*□2009□□pp. 23-36□□□L. Taylor□‘The Rise of Julius Caesar’□*Greece and Rome* 4□1957□□pp. 10-18□□M. Gelzer□*CaesarPolitician and Statesman*□1968□□p.22□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Caesar□The Life of a Colossus*□2006□□pp. 82-151 =□2007□□pp. 61-183□□R. Billows□*Julius Caesar□The Colossus of Rome*□2009□□pp. 56-110□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gellius□*NA* 5.6.13-14□Pliny *NH* 16.12-13□□□□V. Maxfield□*The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*□1981□□pp. 70-74□119-20□

[19] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□L. Taylor□*Party Politics in the Age of Caesar*□1949□□□□pp. 50-75□□*Roman Voting Assemblies□From the Hannibalic War to the Dictatorship of Caesar*□1966□□□□pp. 78-106□A. Lintott□‘Electoral Bribery in the Roman Republic’□*JRS* 80□1990□□pp. 1-16□F. Millar□*The Crowd in the Late Roman Republic*□1998□□H. Mouritsen□*Plebs and Politics in the Late Roman Republic*□2001□□□□pp. 63-89□A. Yakobson□‘*Petitio et Largitio*□Popular participation in the centuriate assembly of the Late Republic’□*JRS* 8□1992□□pp. 32-52□

[20] Q. Cicero□*Handbook on Electioneering* 35□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Quintum Fratrem* 3.5/6.8□

[21] Q. Cicero□*Handbook on Electioneering* 25-6□Loeb translation□.

[22] □□□Forum□□

[23] □Plutarch□*Cato the Younger* 8.2□□Q. Cicero□*Handbook on Electioneering* 41-2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[24] □□□□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Caesar□The Life of a Colossus*□2006□□pp. 119-45□□□pp. 121-4□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□R. Billows□*Julius Caesar□The Colossus of Rome*□2009□□pp. 56-110□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[25] Sallust□*Bell. Cat.*60.7-61.4.

[26] □□□□□□□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*In the Name of Rome*□2004□□pp. 152-80□□□□□□R. Seager□*Pompey the Great. A Political Biography*□2nd edn□2002□□pp. 20-38□□□□□□□Valerius Maximus 6.2.8□

[27] Suetonius□*Caesar* 15□Dio 37.43.1-4□Plutarch□*Cato the Younger* 26.1-29.2.

[28] Q. Cicero□*Handbook on Electioneering* 45□47-8□Loeb translation□.

[29] R. Billows□*Julius Caesar*□*The Colossus of Rome*□2009□□pp. 104-5□□□□□□□□□□□□

[30] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[31] □□□L. Ross Taylor□*Roman Voting Assemblies*□1966□□pp. 84-106□

[32] □□□

[33] Velleius Paterculus 2.59.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□with E. Gruen□*The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*□1974□□pp. 118-19□

[34] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[35] Cicero□*ad Quintum Fratrem* 1.21□Loeb translation□.

[36] Suetonius□*Caesar* 11□Dio 37.10.1-3□Plutarch□*Cato the Younger* 17.4-5.

[37] □□proconsul□□□□□□□□□□□propraetor□□

[38] Suetonius□*Augustus* 3.1.

[39] □□□□□□□□□□□□□

[40] Catullus 10□Cicero□*Verrines* 1.40.

[41] Suetonius□*Augustus* 3.2□94.5□Velleius Paterculus 2.59.2□*ILS* 47□□□□□5000□□□□□Valerius Maximus 2.8.1□□□□J. Richardson□‘The triumph□the praetors and the Senate in the early second century BC’□*JRS* 65□1976□□pp. 50-63□□□61-2□

[42] Tacitus *Ann*□1.9□Cicero□*Philippics* 3.15□E. Gruen□*The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*□1974□□p.143□fn. 96□

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“如果他（恺撒）想当执政官，但还保留自己的军队，怎么办？”另外一人问道。庞培温和地答道：“如果我的儿子想用棍棒打我，怎么办？”这些话让大家怀疑，庞培正在和恺撒争吵。

——凯利乌斯·鲁弗斯给西塞罗的信，前51年10月[1]

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[1] Caelius’ quote from Cicero□*ad Fam*.8.8.9.

[2] Suetonius□*Augustus* 8.1□27.1□Nicolaus of Damascus 2□Appian□*BC* 4.12.

[3] Nicolaus of Damascus 3□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 127-8□□‘Neglected children on the *Ara Paci*

s’□*American Journal of Archaeology* 88□1984□□pp. 583-9□586 fn.17.

[4] □□□□□□□Dio 58.33.1□□□□□□□□□40□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*Orator* 120□□□□□□□□□B. Rawson□ed.□□*Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*□2003□□□□pp. 99-113□□□□□□□H. Marrou□*A History of Education in Antiquity*□1956□□pp. 229-91□A. Gwynn□*Roman Education*□1926□□□□1-32□Cicero□*de re publica* 4.3□‘an old and wealthy equestrian family’□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 2.3□

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[6] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Valerius Maximus 3.7.8□

[7] R. Seager□*Pompey the Great. A Political Biography*□2002□□pp. 79-82□M. Gelzer□trans. P. Needham□□*Caesar*□1968□□pp. 65-8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 26□□□□□□□□□□□□R. Smith□*Service in the Post-Marian Roman Army*□1958□□

[8] □Cicero□*ad Att.*1.17.9□18.3□18.7□2.1.8□with E. Badian□*Publicans and Sinners*□1972□□pp. 101-4.

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n□‘Caesar as a politician’□in M. Griffin□ed.□□*A Companion to Julius Caesar*□2009□□pp. 23-36□□□29-31□□□□□□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 2.8□Dio 37.54.1-2□Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 18.2□Plutarch□*Cato the Younger* 31.2-3□*Caesar* 13.1□

[10] R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 34-5.

[11] Cicero□*ad Att.*2.3□3-4.

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[13] Suetonius□*Augustus* 4.1□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[14] □□□□□□Dio 38.6.4-7.2□Appian□*BC* 2.11□Plutarch□*Catothe Younger* 32.2-6□Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 20.1□□□□

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[15] Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 21□50.1-2□Plutarch□*Pompey* 47-48□*Caesar* 14□Dio 38.9.1□"□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□"□□Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 52.3□

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[18] L. Ross Taylor□'The dating of major legislation and elections in Caesar's first consulship'□*Historia* 17□1968□□pp. 182-8□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[19] Nicolaus of Damascus 3□□□□□□□□□□□□n.4□

[20] □□□□□□□□□□□□450□□□□□□□□□□□12□□□

[21] Suetonius□*Tiberius* 2-3□Cicero□*de natura deorum* 2.7 □□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□W. Tatum□*The Patrician Tribune Publius Clodius Pulcher*□1999□*passim*□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Balsdon□‘Fabula Clodiana’□*Historia* 15□1966□□pp. 65-73□□□□□□□□□1□□□□□□□E. Gruen□*The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*□1974□□pp. 97-100□

[22] Dio 38.12.1-3□Cicero□*de domo* 41□*ad Att.*8.3□Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 20.4□Plutarch□*Caesar* 14□□□M. Gelzer□trans. P. Needham□□*Caesar*□1968□□pp. 76-8□R. Seager□*Pompey the Great. A Political Biography*□2002□□pp. 91-9□

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[27] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[28] Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 27.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Crassus* 17-33□□Dio 40.12-30□

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[30] □□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Pompey* 54□*Cato* 47□Dio 40.50.4□Appian□*BC* 2.23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 36-40□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Pompey* 55□

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[32] □□□□□·□□□□·□□□□□39□65□□□

[33] Quotations from Lucan□*Pharsalia* 1.125-6□Oxford translation by S. Braund□□□Cicero□*ad Fam.*8.8.9□□□□□□□□□M. Gelzer□trans. P. Needham□□*Caesar*□1968□□pp. 169-94□R. S

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[35] Appian□*BC* 2.28□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Pompey* 58□□□Dio 60.64.1-4.

[36] □50□□□□□□□□·□□□·□□□□□

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[39] Plutarch□*Pompey* 59□Caesar□*BG* 8.52.3□Dio 40.64.3-4□Appian□*BC* 2.31-2□Caesar□*BC* 1.1-5□Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 29.2□Dio 41.1.1-3.4.

[40] Suetonius□*Caesar* 31-2□Plutarch□*Caesar* 32□Appian□*BC* 2.35.

[illegible]

是他们想要这样的，即便在我的所有伟大功业之后，我，盖乌斯·恺撒，如果不是得到了我的军队的支持，也会灭亡。

——尤利乌斯·恺撒在法萨卢斯看到敌军死尸时说的话。当时在场的阿西尼乌斯·波利奥记载，前1世纪末[1]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][3]

[illegible]·[illegible]49[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[4]

[illegible]·[illegible]48[illegible]·[illegible][5] [illegible]48[illegible]8[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][6]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]46[illegible]4[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]45[illegible]3[illegible]17[illegible][7]

[illegible]

[illegible]51[illegible][8]

[illegible]

> 在美好的往昔，所有人的儿子，只要是合法婚生的，都不是在雇佣乳娘的房间里长大，而是在母亲怀中和膝下成长。而母亲能够得到的最高颂扬就是，她持家有方，全身心奉献给孩子……在这样一位母亲面前，任何人胆敢口出恶言，或者胡作非为，都是极大的冒犯。她不仅要严格遵守宗教的要求、勤勤恳恳地照料年幼的儿女，还要管理他们的娱乐和游戏。我们得知，格拉古兄弟的母亲科尔内利娅、恺撒的母亲奥雷利娅和奥古斯都的母亲阿提娅就是以这种精神培养自己的儿子的，这几位母亲就是这样养育了她们君王一般尊贵的孩子。[9]

[illegible][10][illegible][11][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][12]

[illegible]47[illegible]10[illegible]18[illegible]14[illegible]16[illegible]16[illegible][13][illegible][14][illegible][15]

[illegible]·[illegible]9[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible][16]

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其中有塞姆普罗尼娅……出身高贵，非常美丽，就像她的丈夫和孩子们一样得到命运恩宠；她饱读希腊和拉丁文学，擅长演奏里拉琴，舞姿优美（体面的妇女不应有这样高超的舞艺），还拥有许多其他方面的天赋，注定会生活得多姿多彩。但她却视自己的荣誉和贞洁如粪土。很难说她在金钱和贞操中更看轻哪一个。她性欲旺盛，经常追逐男人，而不是被男人追逐……她常常背弃诺言、拖欠债款和参与谋杀。她囊中羞涩，却沉溺于奢侈的生活，因此走上了一条疯狂的道路。即便如此，她仍然是个了不起的女人。她会写诗、打趣，能够端庄地、温柔地或者放荡地与人交谈；总的来讲，她有许多突出的天赋和魅力。[18]

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[1] Quoted in Suetonius[illegible]*Caesar* 30.4.

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]Plutarch[illegible]*Pompey* 57[illegible]60[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Cicero[illegible]*ad Att*.9.10.3[illegible]A. Goldsworthy[illegible]*Caesar*[illegible]*The Life of a Colossus*[illegible]2006[illegible]pp. 380-471[illegible]2007[illegible]pp. 461-574[illegible]

[4] Cicero[illegible]*ad Att*.9.7C.

[5] [illegible]

[6] [illegible]A. Goldsworthy[illegible]*Caesar*[illegible]*The Life of a Colossus*[illegible]2006[illegible]pp. 380-431 =[illegible]2007[illegible]pp. 461-524[illegible]

[7] [illegible]N. Rosenstein[illegible]*Imperatores Victi*[illegible]1993[illegible]pp. 114-51[illegible]·[illegible]A. Goldsworthy[illegible]*Antony and Cleopatra*[illegible]2010[illegible]pp. 167-81[illegible]

[8] Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 8.1[illegible]Nicolaus of Damascus 3[illegible]Polybius 6.53.1-54.6[illegible]

[9] Tacitus[illegible]*Dialogues* 28.6[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible]p.307.

[10] Nicolaus of Damascus 3[illegible]Velleius Paterculus 2.59.3[illegible]S. Dixon[illegible]*The Roman Mother*[illegible]1988[illegible]pp. 104-40[illegible]esp.129-35[illegible]

[11] [illegible]

[12] Nicolaus of Damascus 4[illegible]Cicero[illegible]*ad Att.*12.16[illegible]12.18[illegible]14.11[illegible]R. Syme[illegible]*The Roman Revolution*[illegible]1960[illegible]p.62[illegible]

[13] [illegible]Capitoline Hill[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Capitol Hill[illegible]

[14] [illegible]

[15] Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 8.1[illegible]94.10[illegible]Dio 45.1.5-6[illegible]Nicolaus of Damascus 4[illegible]B. Rawson[illegible]*Children and*

Childhood in Roman Italy□2003□□pp. 142-4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4.15.5□

[16] □□□□□Nicolaus of Damascus 4□Cicero□*Philippics* 5.17.46□Velleius Paterculus 2.59.3□

[17] Suetonius□*Augustus* 79.1-2.

[18] Sallust□*Bell Cat*.25.

[19] □□□□·□□□□□□Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 45.1□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 79.2□□□□□□□□□Nicolaus of Damascus 5□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□P. Grimal□trans. A. Train□□*Love in Ancient Rome*□1986□□□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Att*.10.10□*Philippics* 2.58□*ad Fam*.9.26.Serv. On E10□*de vir. Ill*.82.2□Plutarch□*Antony* 6□9□□□□□*Philippics* 2.58□69□77□□□□□□□□□□□P. Grimal□trans. A. Train□□*Love in Ancient Rome*□1986□□pp. 222-37□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Apuleius□*Apologia*.10□

[20] Suetonius□*Augustus* 8.1□Velleius Paterculus 2.59.3□Nicolaus of Damascus 10-13□15.

[21] □□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Gardner□'The Dictator'□in M. Griffin□ed.□□*A Companion to Julius Caesar*□2009□□pp. 57-71□□□□□M. Gelzer□trans. P. Needham□□*Caesar*□1968□□pp. 272-333□C. Meier□trans. D. McLintock□□*Caesar*□1996□□pp. 430-96□

[22] □E. Rawson□‘Civil War and dictatorship’ in *CAH2* IX□pp. 438-67□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 61-96□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[23] Cicero□*ad Att*.4.16.3□8□17.7□Suetonius□*Caesar* 26.2□Pliny□*NH* 36.103□with Rawson in *CAH2* IX□pp. 453-4.

[24] “□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[25] Suetonius□*Caesar* 44.2□Pliny□*NH* 18.211□Plutarch□*Caesar* 59□Macrobius□*Saturnalia*1.14.2-3□T. Rice Holmes□*The Roman Republic* Vol.Ⅲ□1923□□pp. 285-7□M. Gelzer□trans. P. Needham□□*Caesar*□1968□□p.289□□Z. Yavetz□*Julius Caesar and his Public Image*□1983□□pp. 111-14.

[26] □□□□□□□Dio 43.19.1-21.4□42.3□44.1-3□Appian□*BC* 2.101-2□Plutarch□*Caesar* 55□Suetonius□*Caesar* 37□Pliny□*NH* 7.92□Cicero□*Philippics* 14.23□□□□□□□M. Gelzer□*Caesar*□1968□□pp. 284-6□T. Rice Holmes□*The Roman Republic* Vol.Ⅲ□1923□□pp. 279-81□□□□S. Weinstock□*Divus Julius*□1971□□□□pp. 76-7□

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[28] Suetonius□*Augustus* 8.1□41.1□Nicolaus of Damascus 6-15□Dio 43.47.3□Tacitus□*Ann*.11.25.2□□□R. Billows□*Julius*

Caesar□*The Colossus of Rome*□2009□□pp. 256-8 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[29] Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 77.

[30] □□□□□□·□□□□□□□E. Rawson□‘Caesar's Heritage□Hellenistic Kings and their Roman Equals’□*JRS* 65□1975□□pp. 148-59□R. Carson□‘Caesar and the monarchy’□*Greece & Rome* 4□1957□□pp. 46-53□□J. Collins□‘Caesar and the corruption of power’□*Historia* 4□1957□□pp. 445-65□

[31] □□□“□□□”□

[32] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□E. Gruen□‘Cleopatrain Rome. Fact and Fantasies’□in D. Braund & C. Gill□eds□□*Myths*□*Historyand Culture in Republican Rome*□*Studies in honour of T. P.Wiseman*□2003□□pp. 257-74□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 192-203□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 52.3□

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[35] “□□□□□□□□□□”□□Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 79.2□□□□□□Dio 44.11.1-3□Appian□*BC* 2.109□Plutarch□*Caesar* 61□Antony 12□Cicero□*Philippics* 2.84-7□*de divinatione* 1.52□119□Suetonius□*Caesar* 79.2-3□J. North□‘Caesar at the Lupercalia□’ *JR*

S 98□2008□□pp. 144-60□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Weinstock□1971□□pp. 318-41□

[36] Suetonius□*Caesar* 41.2□76.2□80.3□Dio 43.46.2-4□Plutarch□*Caesar* 58□Pliny *NH*7.181□Cicero□*ad Fam*.7.30.1-2□M. Gelzer□*Caesar*□1968□□p.309□310-11□□T. Rice Holmes□*The Roman Republic* Vol.Ⅲ□1923□□pp. 328-30□

[37] Suetonius□*Caesar* 77□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Fam*.9.15.4□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 45.1□

[38] “□□□□□□□□”□Cicero□*pro Marcello* 8□25□‘he hates me’□Cicero□*ad Att*.14.1□

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[43] □□□□Plutarch□*Caesar* 66□*Brutus* 17□*Antony* 13□Dio 44.19.1-5□Appian□*BC* 2.117□Suetonius□*Caesar* 82.1-3□

[44] □□□·□□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Att*.14.1□

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后来，根据他舅公的遗嘱……他开始自称为盖乌斯·恺撒。

——苏埃托尼乌斯，《奥古斯都》，7.2

□ □□□

屋大维阿努斯……很有头脑，很有活力，他很可能对我们的英雄们（刺杀恺撒的密谋者）示好。但我们对他能够信任到什么程度呢，毕竟他是这个年纪，有这样的姓名，继承了这样的遗产，经历过这样的教育。我在阿斯图拉遇见了他的继父，他觉得绝对不能信任屋大维阿努斯。即便如此，我们必须注意他，至少要让他远离安东尼。

——西塞罗，前44年6月 [1]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][7]

[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]48[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][8]

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[illegible]3[illegible]17[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]20[illegible]300[illegible]75[illegible][10][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][11]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]45[illegible]9[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]45[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][12]

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1[illegible]

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[illegible]73[illegible]63[illegible][25]

[illegible]·[illegible]52[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][26]

[illegible]·[illegible]49[illegible]·[illegible][27]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]44[illegible]·[illegible][28]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[29][illegible][30]

[illegible]·[illegible]49[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][31]

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3[illegible]17[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible][33][illegible][34]

[illegible]6[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible][35]

[illegible]49[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]” [36]

[illegible] [37]

[1] Cicero[illegible]*ad Att.*15.12.2.

[2] [illegible]

[3] Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 9.2[illegible]Appian[illegible]*BC* 3.9[illegible]Velleius Paterculus 2.59.4[illegible]Dio 45.3.1[illegible]Nicolaus of Damascus 16[illegible]·[illegible]Cicero[illegible]*Brutus* 316[illegible]Suetonius[illegible]*Caesar* 4.2[illegible]Plutarch[illegible]*Caesar* 2[illegible]

[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible]2[illegible]1120[illegible]·[illegible]

[6] Appian[illegible]*BC* 3.9[illegible]

[7] [illegible]R. Syme[illegible]*The Roman Revolution*[illegible]1960[illegible]pp. 129[illegible]fn.2-3[illegible]

[8] □□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Nicolaus of Damascus 16□□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy□Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□p.31□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□p.47□

[9] Nicolaus of Damascus 17-18□Appian□*BC* 3.10-11.

[10] □□□□□□□□□□□211□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4.5□□□□□□□□□3□□□□□□□

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[12] □□□□□□Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 83.2□□□□□□□□□R. Billows□*Julius Caesar□The Colossus of Rome*□2009□□pp. 256-8□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy□Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□p.31 fn.71 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Att.*15.2.3□

[13] □□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*Philippics* 2.44□□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 3.94□

[14] Nicolaus of Damascus 18□Appian□BC 3.11-13□Suetonius□Augustus 9.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Fam.*12.2.2□□

[illegible]*BC* 3.13[illegible]citing *Iliad* 18.98[illegible]“[illegible]”

[15] [illegible]B. Levick[illegible]*Augustus. Image and Substance*[illegible]2010[illegible]pp. 23-4[illegible]

[16] [illegible]R. Syme[illegible]‘Imperator Caesar[illegible]A study in imperial nomenclature’[illegible]pp. 172-88[illegible]

[17] Nicolaus of Damascus 18[illegible]Appian[illegible]*BC* 3.13-21[illegible]Cicero[illegible]*ad Att*.14.6.1[illegible]J. Osgood[illegible]*Caesar's Legacy*[illegible]*Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*[illegible]2006[illegible]p.31[illegible]fn.73[illegible]Cicero[illegible]*ad Att*.14.5.3 [illegible]

[18] [illegible]

[19] [illegible]

[20] Cicero[illegible]*ad Att*.14.10.3[illegible]·[illegible]R. Syme[illegible]*The Roman Revolution*[illegible]1960[illegible]pp. 71-3[illegible]*pro Balbo*[illegible]A. Lintott[illegible]*Cicero as Evidence*[illegible]2008[illegible]pp. 339-73[illegible]

[21] [illegible]Cicero[illegible]*ad Att*.14.11.2[illegible]*ad Att*.15.12.2[illegible]R. Syme[illegible]*The Roman Revolution*[illegible]1960[illegible]pp. 114[illegible]128[illegible]Syme[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[22] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]consul suffectus[illegible]

[23] [illegible]R. Syme[illegible]*The Roman Revolution*[illegible]1960[illegible]pp. 69[illegible]fn.2[illegible]97[illegible]150-51[illegible]A. Goldsworthy[illegible]*Antony and Cleopatra*[illegible]2010[illegible]pp. 186-91[illegible]

[24] Plutarch[illegible]*Antony* 4[illegible]A. Goldsworthy[illegible]*Antony and Cleopatra*[illegible]2010[illegible]*passim*[illegible]

[25] [illegible]A. Goldsworthy[illegible]*Antony and Cleopatra*[illegible]2010[illegible]pp. 52-65[illegible]

[26] Cicero[illegible]*Philippics* 2.44[illegible]44-6 [illegible]A. Goldsworthy[illegible]*Antony and Cleopatra*[illegible]2010[illegible]pp. 81-104[illegible]

[27] Cicero[illegible]*Philippics* 2.58[illegible]*ad Att*.10.10[illegible]13[illegible]*ad Fam*.9.26[illegible]Serv. On E10[illegible]*de vir. Ill*.82.2.[illegible]*Philippics* 2.58[illegible]69[illegible]7[illegible]Plutarch[illegible]*Antony* 6[illegible]9[illegible]Pliny[illegible]*NH* 8.55[illegible]

[28] Cicero[illegible]*Philippics* 2.64-9[illegible]72-4[illegible]78[illegible]Plutarch[illegible]*Antony* 10[illegible]Dio 45.28.1-4[illegible]Plutarch[illegible]*Antony* 10 [illegible]M. Gelzer[illegible]trans. P. Needham[illegible]*Caesar*[illegible]1968[illegible]pp. 261-2[illegible]R. Syme[illegible]*The Roman Revolution*[illegible]1960[illegible]p.104[illegible]·[illegible]Plutarch[illegible]*Antony* 11[illegible]

[29] [illegible]·[illegible]

[30] Plutarch□*Antony* 13.

[31] □R. Weigel□*Lepidus. The Tarnished Triumvir*□1992□□pp. 44-51□□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 97-111□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Ramsay□‘Did Mark Antony contemplate an alliance with his political enemies in July 44B. C.E.□’□*Classical Philology* 96.3□2001□□pp. 253-68□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[32] □□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 3.2-3□36□Cicero□*ad Att*.14.15□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.99□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Nicolaus of Damascus 14□

[33] □□□

[34] J. Ramsay□‘The Senate□Mark Antony□and Caesar's Legislative Legacy’□*Classical Quarterly* 44□1994□□pp. 130-45 □□□

[35] Appian□*BC* 3.27□30□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 115-16□□P. Brunt□*Italian Manpower 225 BC-AD 14*□1971□□pp. 477-83□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy□Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 33-4.

[36] Cicero□*ad Att*.16.1□2.3□4.1□5.1□Appian□*BC* 3.24□Plutarch□*Brutus* 21.2-3□□□□□Cicero□*ad Att*.15.4□

[37] Cicero□*ad Att*.16.15.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]

我十九岁的时候自行决定并自筹经费，组建了一支军队。共和国的自由受到某个派系的暴政压迫时，我借助这支军队，成功捍卫了共和国。

——《神圣奥古斯都功业录》，公元14年，于奥古斯都去世不久后发表[1]

5[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][3][illegible]

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8[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]49[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]3[illegible]15[illegible][10]

[illegible]6000[illegible]1[illegible]10[illegible][11]

9[illegible]3000[illegible]·[illegible]120[illegible]·[illegible][12]

[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]63[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13]

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[illegible]·[illegible][18]

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[illegible]100[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][19]

[illegible]500[illegible][20]

11[illegible]28[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6000[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]12[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][24]

[illegible]

> 盖乌斯·恺撒是个年轻人，或者说简直是个孩子，但他拥有神圣的智慧和勇气。就在此刻，安东尼的疯狂到了最顶峰的时候，人们害怕他从布隆迪西乌姆返回后要大开杀戒。我们没有寻求援助，也没有想到寻求援助，甚至根本没有得到援救的希望，因为似乎已经没有人来帮助我们。就在此刻，盖乌斯·恺撒集结了一支由不可战胜的老兵组成的强大军队，并慷慨地挥霍了他继承的财产……以便拯救共和

国……若他不曾出生于共和国，那么，如今由于安东尼的罪行，共和国将不复存在……[25]

[illegible]

对于玛尔斯军团，我们也不能吝啬赞美之词。还有谁比玛尔斯军团的将士更勇敢，更忠于共和国？他们认清了马克·安东尼是罗马人民的敌人，于是拒绝再和这个狂人结盟。他们看到，安东尼的目标是屠戮共和国的公民、将共和国彻底消灭，于是抛弃了他……[26]

[illegible] [27]

[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible][28]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29]

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阿奎莱亚
内高卢
行省
高卢广场
穆蒂纳
波诺尼亚
奥雷利乌斯大道
埃米利乌斯大道
卢卡
皮斯托亚
比萨
菲耶索莱
阿诺河
阿里米努姆
皮索鲁姆
伊利里库姆
沃尔泰拉
阿雷提乌姆
安科纳
佩鲁西亚
皮塞努姆
伊特鲁里亚
台伯河
弗拉米乌斯大道
阿梅利亚
亚得里亚海
普雷尼斯特
科尔菲涅乌姆
奥斯提亚
罗马
图斯库鲁姆
阿尔巴
索拉
拉努维乌姆
阿尔皮努姆
安提乌姆
拉丁姆
萨莫奈
第勒尼安海
福尔米亚
卡普阿
卢切拉
库迈
坎帕尼亚
巴亚
普泰奥利
米西努姆
庞贝
那不勒斯
韦诺萨
阿庇乌斯大道
卢卡尼亚
塔兰托
布隆迪西乌姆
卡拉布里亚
许德鲁斯
维博
布鲁提乌姆
瑞洛库斯
米莱
利利俾
艾利克斯山
墨西拿
瑞吉昂
西西里行省
伊奥尼亚海
叙拉古
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英里
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罗马里

意大利

1[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][31]

[illegible]·[illegible]45[illegible]

[1] *Res Gestae* 1[illegible]Brunt & Moore's translation[illegible].

[2] Appian[illegible]*BC* 3.21-2[illegible]Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 10.1-2[illegible]95[illegible]Dio 45.3.4-7.2[illegible]Nicolaus of Damascus 28[illegible]R. Syme[illegible]*The Roman Revolution*[illegible]1960[illegible]pp. 114-17[illegible]116[illegible]fn.3 [illegible] T. Rice Holmes[illegible]*The Architect of the Roman Empire* Vol.1[illegible]1928[illegible]p.191[illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible]

[3] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[4] Nicolaus of Damascus 18[illegible]·[illegible]4[illegible]

[5] Appian□*BC* 3.23-4□28□Suetonius□*Augustus* 10.1□Dio 45.6.4□Cicero□*ad Att.*15.2.3□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.131□J. Ramsay□‘Did Mark Antony contemplate an alliancewith his political enemies in July 44 B. C.E.□’□*Classical Philology* 96.3□2001□□pp. 253-68□□□253□fn.3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□44□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[6] Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 88□Pliny□*NH* 2.93-4□with J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 40-41□□□□□□J. Ramsay & A. Licht□*The Comet of 44 BC and Caesar's Funeral Games*□1997□□pp. 135-53□

[7] □□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 3.31□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Antony* 16□Dio 45.6.2□Suetonius10.2□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.120□Z. Yavetz□*Plebs and Princeps*□1969□□pp. 73-5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pliny□*NH* 2.93□

[8] □□□□□□□□□□□J. Ramsay□‘Mark Antony's Judiciary Reform and its revival under the Triumvirs’□*JRS* 95□2005□□pp. 20-37□□□□□□□p.31□4□□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□4□□5□□□

[9] Cicero□*ad Fam*.11.28.6-7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□Appian□*BC* 3.28-30□□□□□□32-42□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Att*.16.8.1-2□*ad Fam*.12.3□Dio 45.7-3-9.5□12.1-6□Plutarch□*Antony* 16□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Linderski□‘Aphrodisias and the *Res Gestae*□The *Genera Militiae* and the Status of Octavian□’ *JRS* 74□1984□□pp. 74-80□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□sacramentum□□□□coniuratio□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[10] □□□□□□□□□□□□□D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 292-7□□J. Ramsay□‘Did Mark Antony contemplate an alliancewith his political enemies in July 44 B. C. E.□’□*Classical Philology* 96.3□2001□□□pp. 265-7□

[11] J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 41-2□D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 292-3□297-9□A. Lintott□*Cicero as Evidence*□2008□□pp. 375-82□Appian□*BC* 3.5□□□□□□6000□□□□Cicero□*ad Fam*.12.2.1□3.1□Plutarch□*Cicero* 43□□□□□□

[12] Appian□*BC* 3.40□Cicero□*ad Att*.16.8□□□44□11□4□□□□□□□□3000□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[13] Cicero□*ad Att*.16.11.6.

[14] □□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Att.*16.14.1□□□□□□□□□16.15.3□□□Plutarch□*Cicero* 44-6□□D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 295-6□

[15] □□□Cicero□*ad Att.*16.15.3□□□Appian□*BC* 3.41-2□Dio 45.12.3-6□

[16] Cicero□*Philippics* 3.20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[18] □□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□e.g. Caesar□*BG* 6.40□

[19] Appian□*BC* 3.31□40-44□Dio 45.12.1-13.5□Cicero□*Philippics* 3.4□6□38-9□4.5-6□with J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 47-50□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□L. Keppie□'A centurion of *legio Martia* at Padova□'□*Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 2□1991□□pp. 115-21 = L. Keppie□*Legions and Veterans*□*Roman Army Papers 1971-2000*□2000□□pp. 68-74□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 219-21□

[20] Appian□*BC* 3.46□Dio 45.13.5□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 126-7□

[21] □□□□□□□□Cicero□*Philippics* 3.20□Appian□*BC* 3.44-6□Dio 45.13.5□□□□□□□□□□11□□□□□□□□□□□"□□"□□Cicero□*ad Att.*1

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[24] □□□□□□□*ad Att*.16.5.3□with J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□p.49□□D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 299-306□□□□□□□□□□□□□*ad Att*.16.27.2□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Fam*.11.6□6a.2□

[25] Cicero□*Philippics* 3.2□3□5□□Loeb translation□slightly altered□.

[26] Cicero□*Philippics* 3.3□6□□Loeb translation□slightly altered□.

[27] J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 49-51□A. Lintott□*Cicero as Evidence*□2008□□pp. 385-8.

[28] R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 162-70□the vote Appian *BC* 3.30.

[29] Suetonius□*Augustus* 2.3-3.1□4.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□K. Scott□'The Political Propaganda of 44-30 BC'□*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 11□1933□□pp. 7-49□

[30] “□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Cicero□*Philippics* 13.24□□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Cicero* 45-6□□□□□□□□□D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 300-02□326-8□

[31] Appian□*BC* 3.48□50-51□Dio 46.29.2-6□Cicero□*ad Brutum* 1.12□*Philippics* 5.3-4□25□31□with Rawson in *CAH2* IX□pp. 479-81□

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恺撒说，他当然对你没有怨言，除了这一件事情：他认为你说过这样的话："我们必须赞扬这个年轻人，奖赏他，然后抛弃他。"他还说，他绝不会允许自己被抛弃。

——迪基姆斯·布鲁图斯给西塞罗的信，前43年5月24日[1]

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[1] Cicero□*ad Fam*.11.20□SB 401□□Loeb translation□modified□.

[2] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□

[3] Appian□*BC* 3.27□49.□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□p.50□

[4] Appian□*BC* 3.63□79□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 171-2□183□

[5] Caesar□*BG* 8. *praef*.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□p.51□fn.133□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[6] Cicero□*ad Fam*.10.6.3□□□*Philippics* 13.7-9□□A. Lintott□*Cicero as Evidence*□2008□□p.399□

[7] Appian□*BC* 3.50□65□Dio 46.35.1-37.3□□□□□□□□□□□□Pliny *NH* 10.110□□□□□□□

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[10] “□□□□”□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Fam*.10.30□□□□□□□·□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 66-70□Dio 46.37.1-7□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 51-5□□L. Keppie□*The Making of the Roman Army*□1984□□pp. 115-18□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 225-7□□□

[11] Appian□*BC* 3.71-2□Dio 46.38.1-7□Cicero□*ad Fam*.11.13.2□Suetonius□*Augustus* 10.4□□□□□□□□□Velleius Paterculus 2.61.4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*The Roman Army at War 100 BC-AD 200*□1996□□pp. 143-5□

[12] Appian□*BC* 3.73-5□Plutarch□*Antony* 17-18□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Fam*.11.13.2□

[13] Cicero□*ad Brutum* 1.6.2 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tacitus□*Ann*.1.10□□Cicero□*ad Fam*.10.30.3□

[14] Cicero□*ad Brutum* 1.3.4□*ad Fam*.10.21.4□11.19.1□11.21.2□Appian□*BC* 3.74□Dio 46.40.1□Rawson in *CAH2* IX□pp. 483-5□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 176-8□D.

Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 318-23 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Fam*.10.33.1□

[15] Cicero□*ad Fam*.11.11.4 for quote□*ad Fam*.11.19.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Antony* 18□Appian□*BC* 3.80-84□Dio 46.38.6-7□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 178-9□□P. Brunt□*Italian Manpower*□*225 BC-AD 14*□1971□□pp. 481-4□

[16] D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 319-30.

[17] Cicero□*ad Fam*.11.20.

[18] Cicero□*Philippics* 13.22-5.

[19] Appian□*BC* 3.82□Cicero□*ad Brutum* 1.3.2□4.3-6□*Philippics* 14.15□Plutarch□*Cicero* 45□with D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 325-8□A. Lintott□*Cicero as Evidence*□2008□□pp. 416-21□Cicero□*ad Brutum*1.10.3□Loeb translation 18.3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[20] Appian□*BC* 3.88□Suetonius□*Augustus* 26.1□Dio 46.42.3-43.6□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.185□fn.7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[21] Appian□*BC* 3.88-95□Dio 46.44.1-49.5□Velleius Paterculus 2.65.2□*Res Gestae* 1□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolu*

tion□1960□□pp. 185-8□□□□□□□□□□P. Brunt□*Italian Manpower 225 BC-AD 14*□1971□□pp. 481-4□

[22] J. Ramsay□‘Did Mark Antony contemplate an alliance with his political enemies in July 44 B. C.E.□’□*Classical Philology* 96.3□2001□□pp. 253-68□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[23] □□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Antony* 19-21□Appian□*BC* 3.96-4.46.50.1-56.4□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 188-91□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 57-61□□Rawson in *CAH2* IX□pp. 485-6□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 228-31□

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马尔库斯·李必达、马克·安东尼和屋大维·恺撒，奉人民之命，管理和治理共和国。他们宣称，背信弃义的叛贼哀求饶命，而在得到宽恕后却成为恩主的敌人，密谋反对恩主，盖乌斯·恺撒因此被那些得到仁慈宽恕的人杀害……；我们也因此遭到侮辱，被宣布为国民公敌；现在……我们要先发制人，而不是被他们伤害……

——阿庇安记载的三头同盟镇压政敌的宣告，2世纪初[1]

但有一件事情需要评论一下。对于那些被镇压的人，他们的妻子表现出了极大的忠诚，他们的释奴也是如此，他们的奴隶表现出了一定程度的忠诚，而他们的儿子们则忘恩负义。

——维莱伊乌斯·帕特尔库鲁斯，1世纪初[2]

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艾格纳提乌斯大道
坎达维亚
阿波罗尼亚
奥利库姆
潘诺姆斯
布特罗图姆
克基拉
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伊庇鲁斯
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琉卡斯
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尼阿波利斯
佩拉
安菲波利斯
塞萨洛尼基
萨索斯岛
塞萨利
爱琴海
法萨卢斯
德尔斐
玻俄提亚
底比斯
雅典
墨伽拉
科林斯
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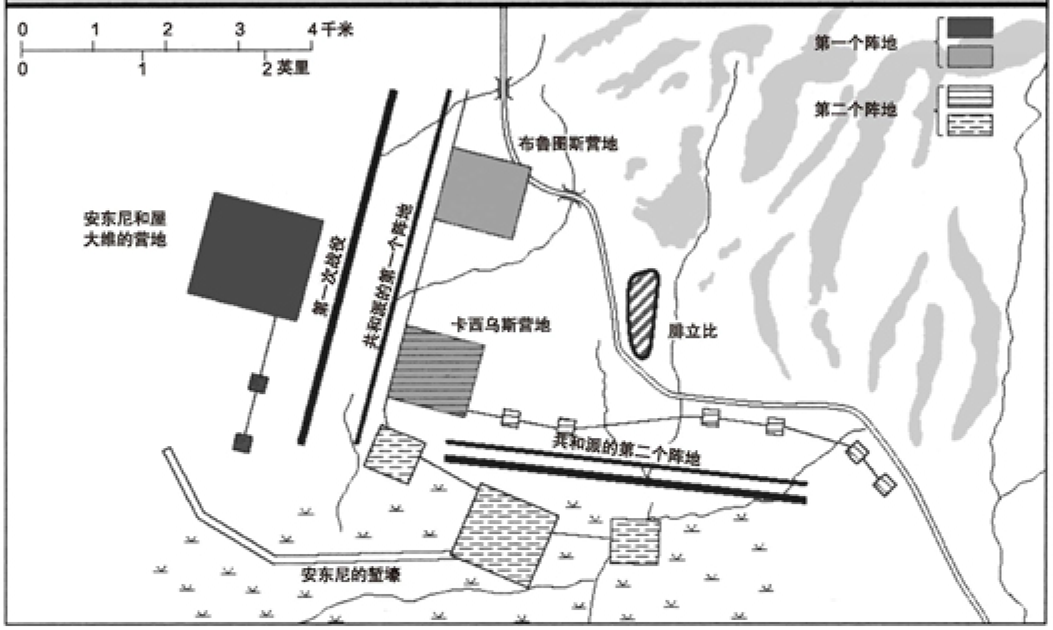

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第一个阵地
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布鲁图斯营地
安东尼和屋
大维的营地
第一次战役
共和派的第一个阵地
卡西乌斯营地
腓立比
共和派的第二个阵地
安东尼的堑壕

希腊和马其顿，两次腓立比战役

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[1] Appian[illegible]*BC* 4.8[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible].

[2] Velleius Paterculus 2.67.2[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible].

[3] Appian[illegible]*BC* 4.6[illegible]

[4] □□□Rostra□□□□□Forum□□□□□□□□□Rostra□□□

[5] □□□□□□Appian□*BC* 4.6-31□Dio 47.1.1-15.4□Plutarch□*Cicero* 46□*Antony* 19□□□□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 62-82□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 190-94□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Powell□*Virgil the Partisan*□*A Study in the Re-integration of Classics*□2008□□pp. 55-62□68-9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 4.7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□Macrobius□*Satires* 2.11.1□

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[8] Appian□*BC* 4.8-11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 27.1□

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[10] Plutarch□*Antony* 19-20□Appian□*BC* 4.5-30□37□Dio 57.1.1-14.5□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 190-96□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emer*

gence of the Roman Empire□2006□□pp. 62-82□Plutarch□*Antony* 20□Oxford translation□modified□for quote□

[11] □Plutarch□*Cicero* 47-8□Appian□*BC* 4.19-20□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□p.78□□□□□□□D. Stockton□*Cicero. A Political Biography*□1971□□pp. 331-2□T. Mitchell□*Cicero. The Senior Statesman*□1991□□pp. 322-4□A. Everitt□*Cicero. A Turbulent Life*□2001□□pp. 304-10□

[12] Dio 47.8.3-4□Plutarch□*Cicero* 48-9□*Antony* 20□Appian□*BC* 4.19□□□Cornelius Nepos□*Atticus* 9.3-7□with A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 245-6□

[13] Suetonius□*Augustus* 27.1-2□□□□□□□□□Velleius Paterculus 2.66-7□□□□□□□□□□□□□K. Scott□‘The Political Propaganda of 44-30 BC’□*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 11□1933□□pp. 7-49□□□19-21□A. Powell□*Virgil the Partisan□A Study in the Re-integration of Classics*□2008□□pp. 63-8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 246-7□

[14] □□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 70.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pliny□*NH* 34.2.6□with K. Scott□‘The Political Propaganda of 44-30 BC’□*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*

11□1933□□pp. 20-21□□□□□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 4.40□Dio 47.7.4-5□8.5□

[15] Appian□*BC* 4.30□□□□□□□□□□□4.23-4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 74-82□

[16] Appian□*BC* 4.23□with J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 64-5□79□□Laudatio Turiae□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 67-74□□□□□□□

[17] Dio 47.7.4-5.

[18] □□□·□□□□□□·□□□□□□□114□□50□□□□69□□□□□□□□□□

[19] Appian□*BC* 4.31-4□Dio 47.14.2-3□with J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 84-8.

[20] Dio 47.18.3-19□with S. Weinstock□*Divus Julius*□1971□□pp. 386-98.

[21] □□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[22] □□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 61.2□Dio 47.17.6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 62.1□Velleius Paterculus 2.

65.2□Plutarch□*Antony* 20□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 48.5.3□

[23] □□□R. Weigel□*Lepidus. The Tarnished Triumvir*□1992□□pp. 69-70□77-9□

[24] □□□□□□□□□□□□□

[25] □□□□□Pileus□□□18□□□19□□

[26] Dio 47.25.3□□Appian□*BC* 4.100-01□Appian□*BC* 5.17□□□□□□□□□□Cornelius Nepos□*Eumenes* 8.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□M. Crawford□*Roman Republican Coinage*□1974□□pp. 498-508□

[27] Appian□*BC* 4.101-8□Plutarch□*Brutus* 37-40□

[28] Appian□*BC* 4.106□108□Dio 47.37.2-3□Suetonius□*Augustus* 13.1.

[29] □□□Appian□*BC* 4.88□108□□□□P. Brunt□*Italian Manpower 225 BC-AD 14*□1971□□pp. 485-8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 251-3□□□Appian□*BC* 4.137□□□□□□□□□Dio 47.39.1 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Velleius Paterculus 2.113□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□□□□

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[31] □□□□A. Goldsworthy□*The Roman Army at War 100 BC-AD 200*□1996□□pp. 141-5□

[32] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 4.109-14□Plutarch□*Brutus* 40-45□Dio 47.42.1-47.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□S. Sheppard□*Philippi 42 BC. The Death of the Roman Republic*□2008□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Caesar□*BG* 5.33□□*BG* 5.43□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[33] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Brutus* 41□*Antony* 22□Dio 47.41.3-4□46.2□Velleius Paterculus 2.70.1□Suetonius□*Augustus* 13.1□Pliny□*NH* 7.147□□□□□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 204-5□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 95-6□Stark□1933□□pp. 21-2□□A. Powell□*Virgil the Partisan*□*A Study in the Re-integration of Classics*□2008□□p.106□

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[35] Appian□*BC* 4.125-31□Plutarch□*Brutus* 49-52□*Antony* 22□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 47.48.1-49.4□

[36] Appian□*BC* 4.129-31□135□Suetonius□*Augustus* 13.1-2□Dio 47.49.2□Plutarch□*Brutus* 53.3□*Antony* 22□*Comparison of lives of Dion and Brutus* 5.1□with Stark□1933□□pp. 22-3.

[37] *Res Gestae* 2□Loeb translation□.

[38] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 261-71□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[39] Appian□*BC* 5.3□12□Dio 48.1.2-3.6□with R. Weigel□*Lepidus. The Tarnished Triumvir*□1992□□pp. 79-80.

[40] □□□□□□□□□□□□L. Keppie□*Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy□47-14 BC*□1983□□*passim* and J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 108-51□

[41] □□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 5.12-51□Dio 48.5.1-14.6□Plutarch□*Antony* 30□Velleius Paterculus 2.74-6□□□□E. Gabba□'The Perusine War and Triumviral Italy'□*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 75□1971□□pp. 139-60□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 207-12□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 152-72□□C. Pelling in *CAH2* X□pp. 14-17□

[42] □J. Hallett□'Perusinae Glandes and the Changing Image of Augustus'□*AJAH* 2□1977□□pp. 151-71□□□T. Rihll□'Lead Slingshot□*glandes*□'□*JRA* 22□2009□□pp. 149-69□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 14□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 5.33□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Propertius□*Elegies* 1.21□

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[44] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 5.46-9□Dio 48.14.3-6□Suetonius□*Augustus* 15□□Velleius Paterculus 2.74.4□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□Stark□1933□□pp. 27-8□□□□□□□□□□*Iliad* 23.21-2□

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凯旋将军是赋予一名赢得胜利的将军的头衔，但在此之前从未被用作永久性的名字。在前42年尤利乌斯·恺撒被正式封神之后，他（恺撒）正式获得了“神之子”的称号，但后来才开始一直使用这个头衔。

[illegible]

啊，在怎样遥远的将来才能回到故乡，再看见茅草堆在我村舍的屋顶上，再来欣赏我的小小收成，自己的王国？种好了的土地将被粗鲁的士兵掳掠，异族人将占有我们的果实，这都是战争给我们的灾难，把自己的土地让给这些人！

——维吉尔，前1世纪30年代[1]

伟大世纪的运行又要重新开始，处女星已经回来，又回到萨图恩[2]的统治，从高高的天上新的一代已经降临，在他生时，黑铁时代就已经终停，整个世界又出现了黄金的新人。圣洁的露吉娜[3]……正当你为执政官，波利奥啊，伟大的岁月正在运行初度。

——维吉尔预言一个新的黄金时代的开始，前40年[4]

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[1] Virgil[illegible]*Eclogues* 1.67-72[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible]slightly modified[illegible].

[2] [illegible]Saturn[illegible]

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[4] Virgil□*Eclogues* 4.4-12□Loeb translation□slightly modified□.

[5] Martial□*Epigrams* 11.20.3-8□□□□K. Scott□'The Political Propaganda of 44-30 BC'□*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 11□1933□□pp. 7-49□□□24-6□

[6] Appian□*BC* 5.7□Dio 49.32.3□□□□□□□□□□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 208-9□and Appian□*BC* 5.19□

[7] Appian□*BC* 5.13□5.15-17□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Nonius□□□□□Dio 48.8.1-10.1□Suetonius□*Augustus* 104.12-106.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[8] Suetonius□*Augustus* 62.1□Dio 48.5.3□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 48.20.3□Appian□*BC* 5.51□54□59-61□

[9] Appian□*BC* 5.55□Velleius Paterculus 2.76.

[10] □□□□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 5.52□□□□□□□□□□□R. Syme□'The Allegiance of Labienus□' *JRS* 28□1938□□pp. 113-25□□W. Tyrell□'Labienus' departure from Caesar in January 49 B

C'□*Historia* 21□1972□□pp. 424-40□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 48.24.4-25.1□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 48.26.5□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□p.223□□□□□□□□□□□□□□D. Kennedy□'Parthia and Rome□eastern perspectives'□in D. Kennedy□ed.□□*The Roman Army in the East. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplements* 18□1996□□pp. 67-90□□□77-81□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 185□225-8□

[11] Dio 48.12.1-5□Appian□*BC* 5.20-24.

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[13] Appian□*BC* 5.56-66□Dio 48.28.1-30.2□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 129□216-17□242□253-5□□Pelling in *CAH2* X□pp. 17-20□□□□□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 129□341-2□359□

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y□Marriages vs.careers’□*The Classical Journal* 81□1985/6□□pp. 97-111□□□103-11□

[15] Plutarch□*Antony* 57□□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 193-200 □□□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[16] Appian□*BC* 5.53□Suetonius□*Augustus* 52.2□Dio 48.16.3□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.213.

[17] □G. Rickman□*The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*□1980□□pp. 60-61□P. Garnsey□*Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World. Responses to Risk and Crisis*□1988□□pp. 202□206-8□

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[20] □K. Welch□‘Sextus Pompeius and the *Res Publica* in 42-39 BC’□in A. Powell& K. Welch□eds□□*Sextus Pompeius*□2002□□pp. 31-63□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Fam*.15.19.4□

[21] A. Powell□“An island amid the flame”□The Strategy and Imagery of Sextus Pompeius□43-36 BC’□in A. Powell& K. Welch□eds□□*Sextus Pompeius*□2002□□pp. 103-33.esp.105-9□118-29□and A. Powell□*Virgil the Partisan□A Study in the Re-integration of Classics*□2008□□pp. 31-83□□□□□□·□□□□□Dio 48.5.4□

[22] Appian□*BC* 4.25□36□85□5.143□Dio 47.12.1-13.1□Velleius Paterculus 2.72.5□77.2□with K. Welch□‘Sextus Pompeius and the *Res Publica* in 42-39 BC’□in A. Powell& K. Welch□eds□□*Sextus Pompeius*□2002□□pp. 45-6□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 48.34.3□□□□M. Flory□‘*Abducta Neroni Uxor*□The historiographic tradition on the marriage of Octavian and Livia□’ *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118□1988□□pp. 343-59□□□344□

[23] □□□Via Sacra□□

[24] Appian□*BC* 5.67-8□Dio 48.31.1-6.

[25] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[26] Appian□*BC* 5.69-74□Dio 48.36.1-38.3□Velleius Paterculus 2.77□Plutarch□*Antony*32□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 221-2□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 20

5-7□□A. Powell□*Virgil the Partisan*□*A Study in the Re-integration of Classics*□2008□□pp. 190-91□□□K. Welch□'Sextus Pompeius and the *Res Publica* in 42-39 BC'□in A. Powell& K. Welch□eds□□*Sextus Pompeius*□2002□□pp. 51-4 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[27] Plutarch□*Antony* 33□Appian□*BC* 5.76□Dio 48.39.2□Seneca□*Suasoriae* 1.6□with M. Grant□*Cleopatra*□1972□□pp. 129-30□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 286-8□□□□□□□

[28] □□□□·□□□□□□□□□

[29] □Dio 54.7.2□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 6.2-3□with A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 10-11□16-18.

[30] □□□□□□□

[31] A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 3-10□15-16□□□□□□Dio 48.44.1□Velleius Paterculus 2.71.2□

[32] Suetonius□*Tiberius* 6.1-3□*Augustus* 27.4.

[33] *Ulixes stolatus*□Suetonius *Caius* 23□□□□M. Flory□'*Abducta Neroni Uxor*□The historiographic tradition on the marriage of Octavian and Livia□' *Transactions of the American Phi*

lological Association 118□1988□□□A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 11-14□

[34] Suetonius□*Augustus* 53.1□69.1-2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□M. Flory□‘*Abducta Neroni Uxor*□The historiographic tradition on the marriage of Octavian and Livia□’ *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118□1988□□pp. 352-3□A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 24-5 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[35] M. Flory□‘*Abducta Neroni Uxor*□The historiographic tradition on the marriage of Octavian and Livia□’ *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118□1988□□pp. 345-6□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Flory□□□

[36] A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 11-26□M. Flory□‘*Abducta Neroni Uxor*□The historiographic tradition on the marriage of Octavian and Livia□’ *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118□1988□□p.348□□□□□□□□□S. Treggiari□*Roman Marriage*□1991□□pp. 435-82□‘Divorce Roman Style□How easy and frequent was it□’ in B. Rawson□ed.□□*Marriage□Divorce and Children in Ancien*

t Rome□1991□□pp. 131-46□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 62.2□Suetonius□*Claudius* 1□□

[37] Suetonius□*Augustus* 70.1-2□Loeb translation□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 70.1□Dio 48.43.4-44.5□with A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 24-7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□M. Flory□‘*Abducta Neroni Uxor*□The historiographic tradition on the marriage of Octavian and Livia□’ *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118□1988□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 48.44.3□□□□W. Slater□‘*Pueri*□*Turba Minuta*’□in *BICS* 21□1974□□pp. 133-40□

[38] Dio 48.45.5-46.1□□Appian□*BC* 5.78-80□□□□□□□□Menodorus□

[39] □□□□□□Appian□*BC* 5.81-92□Dio 48.46.1-48.4□with J. Morrison& J. Coates□*Greek and Roman Oared Warships*□1996□□pp. 149-52□M. Pitassi□*The Navies of Rome*□2009□□pp. 186-91□W. Rogers□*Greek and Roman Naval Warfare*□1937□□pp. 496-516□□R. Paget□‘The Naval Battle of Cumae in 38 BC’□*Latomus* 29□1970□□pp. 363-9□

[40] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[41] Suetonius□*Augustus* 16.2□□□□□□70.2□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 5.100□Dio 48.48.6-49.1□with A. Powell□“An island am

id the flame”□The Strategy and Imagery of Sextus Pompeius□43-36 BC’□in A. Powell& K. Welch□eds□□*Sextus Pompeius*□2002□□pp. 120-26□□□2008□□pp. 97-8□

[42] □□□□□38□□□□□□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 4.78-80□□37□□□□□□Appian□*BC* 5.93-5□Plutarch□*Antony* 35□with Pelling in *CAH2* X□pp. 24-7□□P. Brunt□*Italian Manpower 225 BC-AD 14*□1971□□p.502□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□F. Millar□‘Triumvirate and Principate’□*JRS* 63□1973□□pp. 50-67□□□.51□53□□Pelling in *CAH2* X□pp. 67-8□

[43] □□□□□□□□□Dio 48.49.2-3□Appian□*BC* 5.92 □□□J. M.Roddaz□*Marcus Agrippa*□1984□□pp. 70-72□□Pelling in *CAH2* X□p.25□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.231□

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[46] Appian□*BC* 5.96-122□Dio 49.1.1-16.2□Suetonius□*Augustus* 16.1-3□Velleius Paterculus 2.79.1-6□Livy□*Pers*.128-9□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 298-303□J. Morrison& J. Coates□*Greek and Roman Oared Warships*□1996□□pp. 154-7□M. Pitassi□*The Navies of Rome*□2009□□pp. 187-91□J. M.Roddaz□*Marcus Agrippa*□1984□□pp. 87-138□M. Reinhold□*Marcus Agrippa*□*A Biography*□1933□□p.29□□□□□□37□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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□ □□□□

无论是在海洋还是在陆地，无论是内战还是外战，我都在全世界南征北战。胜利的时候，我总是饶恕那些恳求宽恕的人。

——《神圣奥古斯都功业录》[1]

最后，他打破了与马克·安东尼的联盟，这联盟历来是可疑和不确定的，并且通过许多和解来艰难地维持。为了更好地揭露自己的竞争对手已经堕落，已经丧失了一位罗马公民的体面，他下令打开并公布安东尼留在罗马的遗嘱。这份遗嘱指定安东尼与克利奥帕特拉七世的孩子为安东尼的继承人。

——苏埃托尼乌斯，2世纪初[2]

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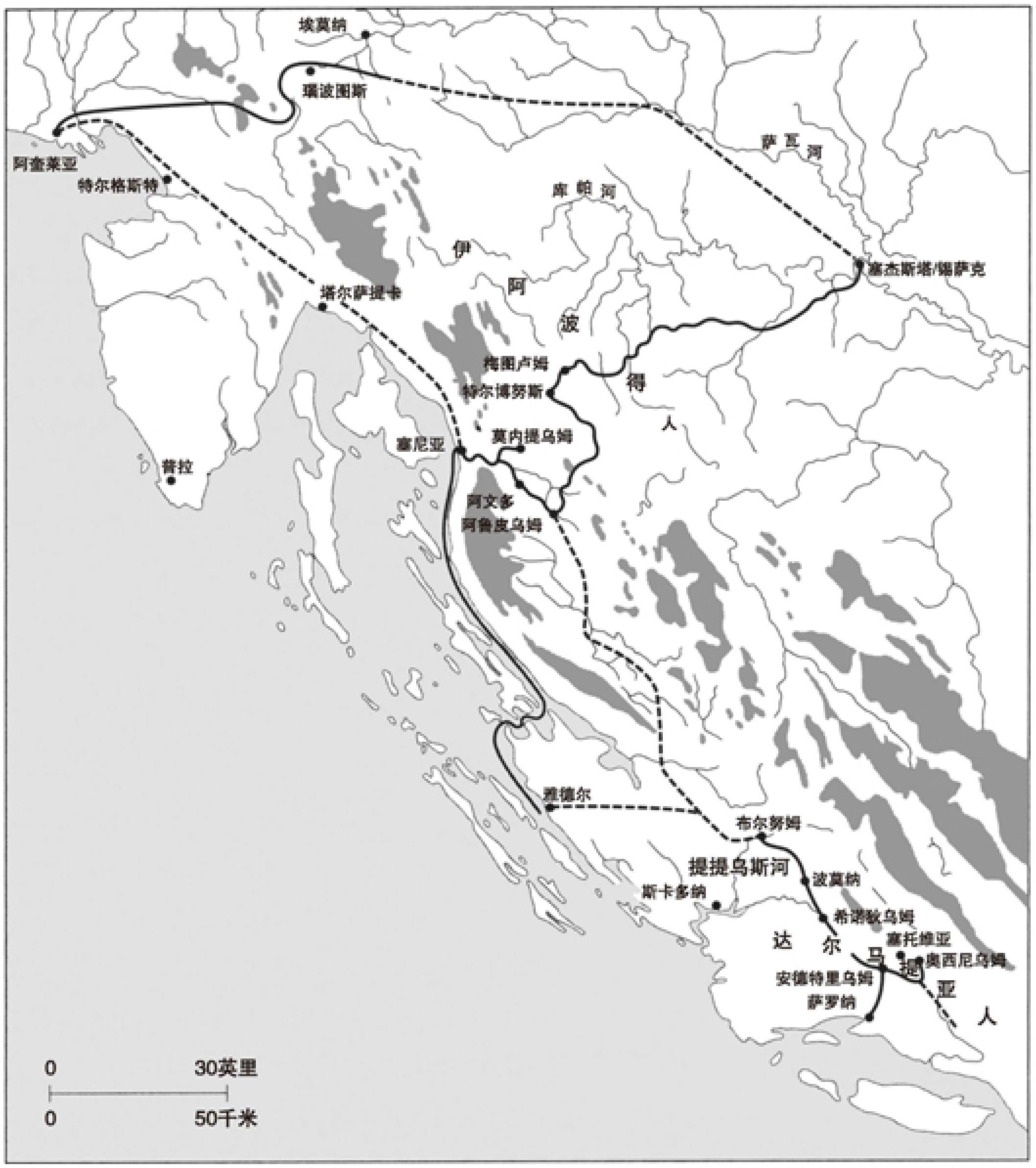

埃莫纳
瑙波图斯
阿奎莱亚
特尔格斯特
萨瓦河
库帕河
伊阿波得人
塞杰斯塔/锡萨克
塔尔萨提卡
梅图卢姆
特尔博努斯
莫内提乌姆
塞尼亚
阿文多
阿鲁皮乌姆
普拉
雅德尔
布尔努姆
提提乌斯河
波莫纳
斯卡多纳
希诺狄乌姆
达尔马提亚人
塞托维亚
安德特里乌姆
奥西尼乌姆
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[illegible]41[illegible]40[illegible]37[illegible]36[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][19]

[illegible]35[illegible][20]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]36[illegible][21][illegible][22]

[illegible]34[illegible]——[illegible][23]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][24][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25]

[illegible]

多么可耻！一个罗马人拜倒在一个女人裙下（你们这些后辈一定不肯相信），手里拿着木桩和兵器。尽管他是军人，却低三下四地伺

候一大群干瘪的宦官，而阳光照射在军旗丛中腐化的蚊帐上！[26]

[illegible][27][illegible][28]

[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[29]

[illegible][30]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][31]

[illegible]33[illegible]1000[illegible][32]

[illegible]32[illegible]1[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][33]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[34]

[illegible]·[illegible][35] [illegible]·[illegible][36]

[illegible]Mausoleum[illegible][37] [illegible]Mausolus[illegible]

[illegible]300[illegible][38] [illegible]40[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][39]

[illegible]

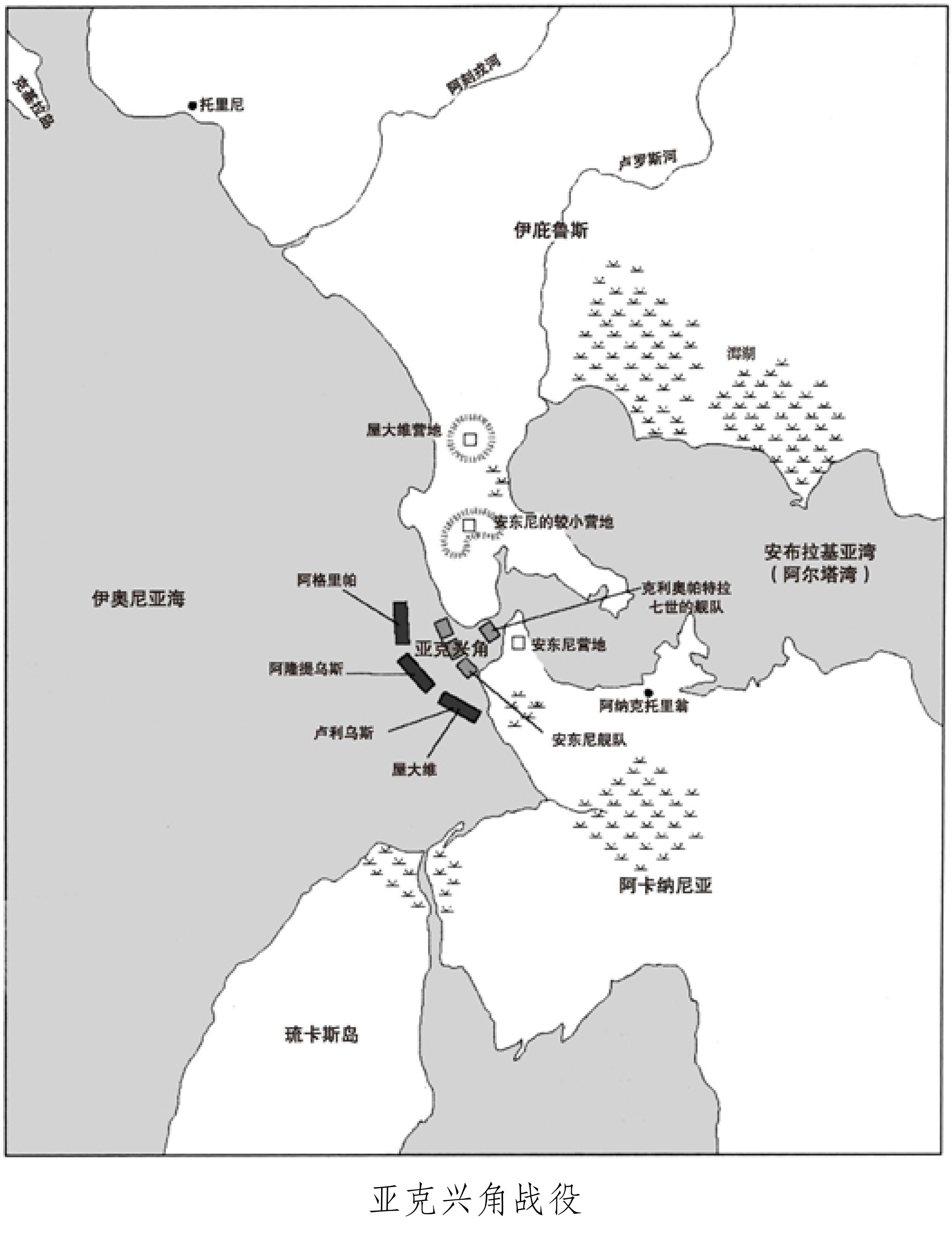
[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[40] [illegible] [41]

[illegible]32[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][42]

[illegible]48[illegible]42[illegible][43]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][44]


托里尼
卢罗斯河
伊庇鲁斯
泻湖
屋大维营地
安东尼的较小营地
安布拉基亚湾
（阿尔塔湾）
伊奥尼亚海
阿格里帕
克利奥帕特拉
七世的舰队
亚克兴角
安东尼营地
阿隆提乌斯
阿纳克托里翁
卢利乌斯
安东尼舰队
屋大维
阿卡纳尼亚
琉卡斯岛

亚克兴角战役

[illegible]31[illegible]9[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]70[illegible]80[illegible]5000[illegible]·[illegible][45]

[illegible]40[illegible]

[illegible][46]

[illegible]
[47]

[illegible]

[illegible][48]

[illegible]·[illegible][49]

□30[illegible]

[1] *Res Gestae* 3□Loeb translation□.

[2] Suetonius□*Augustus* 17.1□Loeb translation□.

[3] [illegible]Velleius Paterculus 2.28.3-4□Appian□*BC* 5.123-6□Dio 49.11.1-12.4[illegible]R. Weigel□*Lepidus. The Tarnished Triumvir*□1992□□pp. 88-92□

[4] Dio 49.17.1-18.7□50.1.4□Appian *BC* 5.127□133-44□Velleius Paterculus 2.79.5.

[5] Plutarch□*Antony* 37.

[6] [illegible]A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 304-20[illegible]Plutarch□*Antony* 49-51□Velleius Paterculus 2.82.3.Dio 49.31.1-3□with A. Sherwin-White□*Roman Foreign Policy in the East*□*168 BC-AD 1*□1984□□pp. 32

0-21.Livy□*Pers*.130□□8000□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Antony* 48□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.264□‘it was a defeat□but not a rout or a disaster’. C. Pelling□*Plutarch□Life of Antony*□1988□□pp. 220-43□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[7] Appian□*BC* 5.130-31□*Res Gestae* 4 and 25□□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 16.1□Dio 47.17.4□48.49.1□49.1.5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□P. Zanker□trans. A. Shapiro□□*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*□1988□□pp. 40-42□□B. Levick□*Augustus. Image and Substance*□2010□□p.40□

[8] □□□82□□□106□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[9] □□□□□□□□□□Appian□*Illyrian Wars* 16-29□Dio 49.34.2-38.1□43.8□with E. Gruen in *CAH2* X□pp. 172-4□□□M. Kos□*Appian and Illyricum*□2005□□pp. 393-471□

[10] Appian□*Illyrian Wars* 19-21□Suetonius□*Augustus* 20.

[11] Appian□*Illyrian Wars* 26□27□Suetonius□*Augustus* 20□24□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Antony* 39□Dio 49.26.1-27.

1□with A. Sherwin-White□*Roman Foreign Policy in the East□168 BC-AD 1*□1984□□p.318□

[12] [illegible]

[13] J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 325-6.

[14] Dio 47.15.2-3□48.43.2□49.43.6-7□49.39.1□with J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 257-67.

[15] [illegible]74□□4[illegible]·[illegible]

[16] J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 252-3□326-31.

[17] Suetonius□*Augustus* 28.3□Pliny *NH* 36.121□□□□N. Purcell in *CAH2* X□pp. 782-9□

[18] [illegible]A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□M. Grant□*Cleopatra*□1972□□J. Tyldesley□*Cleopatra. Last Queen of Egypt*□2009[illegible]·[illegible]E. Gruen□'Cleopatra in Rome. Fact and Fantasies'□in D. Braund & C. Gill□eds□□*Myths□History and Culture in Republic*

an Rome□*Studies in honour of T. P.Wiseman*□2003□□pp. 257-74□□□□□□□□□□□□□M. Siani-Davies□‘Ptolemy XII Auletes and the Romans’□*Historia* 46□1997□□pp. 306-40□□□□□□□□□Cicero□*ad Att*.14.8□15.15□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□p.234□□□□M. Grant□*Cleopatra*□1972□□pp. 95-7□□□□□□□□□□Strabo□*Geog*.14.6.6□with P. Green□*Alexander to Actium*□*The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*□1990□□p.669□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 235-6□Ptolemy XIV □□□□Josephus□*AJ* 15.39□*Against Apion* 2.58□Porphyry□*Fragments of Greek Historians* 260□

[19] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Josephus□*AJ* 15.89□Appian□*BC*5.9□Dio 48.24.2□□ Lebanon□□□□Plutarch□*Antony* 51□Dio 49.31.4□

[20] Plutarch□*Antony* 53-4□Appian□*BC* 5.95□138□Dio 49.33.3-4□with M. Grant□*Cleopatra*□1972□□pp. 150-53□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□p.336□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.265.

[21] □□

[22] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Antony* 54□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 49.15.5-6□38.1□□□□Pelling in *CAH2* X□pp. 68-9□□A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 31-

2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□e.g. Virgil□*Eclogues* 1.40-47□with J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 121-2□

[23] Plutarch□*Antony* 54□Dio 49.40.3-4□Velleius Paterculus 2.82.3-4□□□□M. Grant□*Cleopatra*□1972□□pp. 161-2□□Pelling in *CAH2* X□p.40□

[24] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□7□□□□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[25] Plutarch□*Antony* 54□Dio 49.41.1-6□with Pelling in *CAH2* X□pp. 40-41□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 338-9□M. Grant□*Cleopatra*□1972□□pp. 162-75□J. Bingen□*Hellenistic Egypt□Monarchy□Society□Economy□Culture*□2007□□pp. 78-9□G. Hölbl□*A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*□2001□□pp. 244-5□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 49.41.4□

[26] Horace□*Epodes* 9.11-16□Loeb translation□.

[27] □□

[28] Plutarch□*Comparison between Antony and Demetrius* 4□with M. Grant□*Cleopatra*□1972□□p.188□□Pelling in *CAH2* X□p.43.□□Hercules and Omphale□P. Zanker□trans. A. Shapi

ro□□*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*□1988□□pp. 57-65□esp.58-60□□□□Dio 49.34.1□Josephus□*AJ* 15.93□

[29] Suetonius□*Augustus* 69.2.

[30] □□□□□□□□K. Scott□‘The Political Propaganda of 44-30 BC’□*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 11□1933□□pp. 7-49□esp.33-49□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 335-49□Pelling in *CAH2* X□pp. 40-48□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 276-8□

[31] Suetonius□*Caesar* 52.2□□□□□·□□Cotiso□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 63.2□

[32] Plutarch□*Antony* 55-6□Dio 49.44.3□50.1.1-2.2.

[33] Dio 49.41.4□50.2.2-7□with J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 252-3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pelling in CAH2 X□pp. 67-8□

[34] Velleius Paterculus 2.83.1-2□Pliny□*NH* 9.119-21□□□Horace□*Satires* 2.3.239-42□Valerius Maximus 9.1.2□Pliny□*NH* 9.122□Suetonius□*Caligula* 37.1□with B. Ullman□‘Cleopatra's pearls’□*The Classical Journal* 52.5□Feb.1957□□pp. 193-201□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 276-80□□A. Goldsworthy□*A*

ntony and Cleopatra□2010□□pp. 337-9□□□Velleius Paterculus 2.83.3□

[35] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Vestal Virgin□□□

[36] Plutarch□*Antony* 58□Suetonius□*Augustus* 17.1□Dio 50.3.1-4.1□with J. Johnson□‘The authenticity and validity of Antony's will’□*L’ Antiquit*é *Classique* 47□1978□□pp. 494-503.

[37] □□□□□□□□□□□□

[38] 1□□□□295.7□□□

[39] P. Zanker□trans. A. Shapiro□□*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*□1988□□pp. 72-7.

[40] □□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[41] Velleius Paterculus 2.86.3□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□*The Res Gestae of the Divine Augustus* 25.2-3□Suetonius□*Augustus* 17.2□□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 357-68□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.278□fn.3 □□300□□□□□□□□□□□Syme□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[42] Dio 50.4.1-6.1□Livy 1.32□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Rich□*Declaring War in the Roman Republic in the Period of Transmarine Expansion*□1976□□pp. 56-8□104-7□

[43] Dio 50.9.3□Plutarch□*Antony* 56□with C. Pelling□*Plutarch□Life of Antony*□1988□□pp. 259-60□□*CAH2* X□pp. 52□55□M. Grant□*Cleopatra*□1972□□pp. 197-8□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 294-5□

[44] □□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 360-64□‘sit on aladle’□□Plutarch□*Antony* 62□with C. Pelling□*Plutarch□Life of Antony*□1988□□pp. 271-2□□□Plutarch□*Antony 59*□63□Velleius Paterculus 2.84.2□Dio 50.13.6□14.3□with J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 372-3□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.296□

[45] □□□□Plutarch□*Antony* 64-6□68□Dio 50.14.4-35.6□with J. Carter□*The Battle of Actium□The Rise and Triumph of Augustus Caesar*□1970□□pp. 203-13□S. Sheppard□*Actium□Downfall of Antony and Cleopatra*. Osprey Campaign Series 211□2009□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 374-5□380-82□M. Grant□*Cleopatra*□1972□□pp. 206-15□□C. Pelling□*Plutarch□Life of Antony*□1988□□pp. 278-89□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 364-9□D. Harrington□‘The Battle ofActiu

m-a study in historiography’□*Ancient World* 9.1-2□1984□□pp. 59-64□□C. Lange□‘The Battle of Actium□A reconsideration’□*Classical Quarterly* 61.2□2011□□pp. 608-23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Antony* 68□Dio 51.1.4-3.1□Velleius Paterculus 2.85.5-6□with L. Keppie□*The Making of the Roman Army*□1984□□pp. 134-6□

[46] Dio 51.3.1-4.8□Pelling in *CAH2* X□pp. 61-2.

[47] Dio 51.6.4-8.7□Plutarch□*Antony* 72-3□with C. Pelling□*Plutarch□Life of Antony*□1988□□pp. 297-300□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 51.10.4-5□Plutarch□*Antony*76□□M. Grant□*Cleopatra*□1972□□pp. 222-3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[48] □□□A. Goldsworthy□*Antony and Cleopatra*□2010□□pp. 376-87□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 51.11.3□5-13□Plutarch□*Antony* 82-3□with C. Pelling□*Plutarch□Life of Antony*□1988□□pp. 313-16□Florus 2.21.9-10□□□□□□□Strabo□*Geog*.17.1.10□Dio 51.13.4-14.6□Plutarch□*Antony* 84-6□with C. Pelling□*Plutarch□Life of Antony*□1988□□pp. 316-22□Velleius Paterculus 2.87.1□□□M. Grant□*Cleopatra*□1972□□pp. 224-8□J. Tyldesley□*Cleopatra. Last Queen of Egypt*□2009□□pp. 189-95□E. Rice□*Cleopatra*□1999□□pp. 86-91□P. Green□*Alexander to Actium*□1990□□pp. 679-82□□G. Hölbl□trans. T. Saavedra□□*A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*□2001□□pp. 248-9□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□Dio 53.19.1-20.4□Appian□*BC* 2.101□

[49] Dio 51.15.5-6[illegible]Plutarch[illegible]*Antony* 81.[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

布鲁图斯和卡西乌斯的死让国家没了防备；塞克斯图斯·庞培在西西里岛被打垮；李必达被抛到一边；安东尼丢了性命。就连尤利乌斯一党也只剩下恺撒这么一个领袖。

——塔西佗，2世纪初[1]

无论在海洋还是陆地，无论是内战还是外战，我都在全世界南征北战。胜利的时候，我总是饶恕那些恳求宽恕的人……我两次庆祝小凯旋式，三次庆祝凯旋式，二十一次被称颂为凯旋将军。

——《神圣奥古斯都功业录》[2]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][3]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

在一边，奥古斯都·恺撒屹立在高耸的船首，领导意大利人去战斗，和元老院与人民、家庭与国家的神[illegible]在一起……他父亲的星辰在他头顶上熠熠生光……在另一边，安东尼带着野蛮的强力……统领着埃及和东方的力量……跟着他的，是——哦，多么可耻！——他的埃及妻子……在当中，女王用他们本族的叉铃（埃及伊西斯[4]女神的崇拜仪式上使用的一种嘎嘎作响的神圣乐器）呼唤她的大军……形态各异的恐怖神[illegible]和吠叫的阿努比斯挥动兵器，与尼普顿、维纳斯和密涅瓦厮杀。[5]

[illegible][6]

[illegible]29[illegible]“[illegible][7][illegible]”[8]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible][9]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][10]

[illegible]·[illegible][11]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible][12]

[illegible]

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[illegible][13]

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[illegible]”[illegible]2[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]44[illegible]43[illegible][18]

[illegible]63[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible][19]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20]

[illegible]32[illegible][21]

[illegible]30[illegible]60[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]3[illegible]58[illegible]

[illegible][22]

[illegible][23][illegible][24]

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[illegible][27][illegible]·[illegible][28]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]50
00[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5000[illegible][40]

[illegible]29[illegible]8[illegible]13[illegible]34[illegible]8[illegible]15[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][41]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][42]

[illegible]28[illegible]1[illegible]1[illegible]70[illegible][43]

[1] Tacitus□*Ann*.1.2□Loeb translation□slightly modified□.

[2] *Res Gestae* 3□4□Loeb translation□.

[3] Horace□*Odes* 1.37□Loeb translation□.

[4] [illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

□□
□□□

[5] Virgil□*Aeneid* 8.678-99□Loeb translation□slightly modified□.

[6] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□C. Lange□*Res Publica Constituta. Actium*□*Apollo and the Accomplishment of the Triumviral Assignment*□2009□□pp. 75-90□with J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 370-72□375-83□

[7] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□5□□□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[8] Horace□*Epodes* 7.1-10□Loeb translation□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Rich□‘Augustus□War and Peace’□in J. Edmondson□ed.□□*Augustus*□2009□□pp. 137-64□esp.143-6 = L.de Blois□P. Erdkamp□G. de Kleijn and S. Mols□eds□□*The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*□*Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network*□*Impact of Empire*□*Roman Empire c.200 BC-AD 476*□□2003□□pp. 329-57□

[9] Horace□*Epodes* 16□quotes taken from lines 1-9□Loeb translation□.

[10] Horace□*Epodes* 1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 362-3□□□□□□□□*Odes* 2.7□□□□□□□□□*Epistulae* 2.2.46-51□

[11] Suetonius□*Augustus* 51.1.□□Velleius Paterculus 2.86.1-3□□□□□□□□□□□□M. Dowling□*Clemency and Cruelty in the Roman World*□2006□□pp. 29-75□

[12] □□Tacitus□*Ann.*1.1-2□4□with W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 1-16.

[13] Dio 51.19.1-7□with C. Lange□*Res Publica Constituta. Actium□Apollo and the Accomplishment of the Triumviral Assignment*□2009□□pp. 125-48 □□□□□W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 182-3□□□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 389-98□

[14] Dio 51.20.4-5□Suetonius□*Augustus* 22□*Res Gestae* 13□with C. Lange□*Res Publica Constituta. Actium□Apollo and the Accomplishment of the Triumviral Assignment*□2009□□pp. 140-48□J. Crook in *CAH2* X□pp. 74-5□Dio 51.19.7□□□

□□□□□W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□p.41□fn.92□

[15] Suetonius□*Augustus* 63.1□□□□□□□□□□A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 28-34□118-22□□M. Dennison□*Empress of Rome. The Life of Livia*□2010□□pp. 89-96□

[16] Dio 55.7.2-3□with quote from Loeb translation□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Moralia* 207C.7□

[17] Suetonius□*Augustus* 85.1-2.

[18] □□□Nepos□*Atticus* 20□Loeb translation□□

[19] □□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 43.43.2□□S. Weinstock□*Divus Julius*□1971□□p.324□□□□□□□□□□□□□E. Rawson□*Intellectual Life in the Roman Republic*□1985□□pp. 102-3□233-49□

[20] □Nepos□*Atticus* 20□□□□J. Rich□'Augustus and the spolia opima□'*Chiron* 26□1996□□pp. 85-127□□□113-16□

[21] Nepos□*Atticus* 22.3-4.

[22] Dio 51.16.3-17.8□with A. Bowman in *CAH2* X□pp. 676-89□P. Brunt□'The administrators of Roman Egypt'□*JRS* 65□1975□□pp. 124-47□'Princeps and equites'□*JRS* 73□1983□□pp. 42-75□□□62-3□□□Gallus□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 252-3□300□

[23] □□□□□□

[24] Dio 51.18.1□Suetonius□*Augustus* 18.2.

[25] G. Hölbl□trans. T. Saavedra□□*A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*□2001□□pp. 14-15.

[26] Suetonius□*Augustus* 18.1□Dio 51.16.5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□K. Galinsky□*Augustan Culture*□1996□□pp. 164-79□□□167-8□

[27] □□□“□□”□□

[28] Suetonius□*Augustus* 17.4□Plutarch□*Antony* 86□Dio 51.15.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 51.19.3-5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□C. Lange□*Res Publica Constituta. Actium*□*Apollo and the Accomplishment of the Triumviral Assignment*□2009□□pp. 136-40□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Alexander the Great* 18□

[29] Dio 51.18.1-3□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 300-02□□F. Millar□*The Roman Near East 31 BC-AD 337*□1993□□pp. 27-34□

[30] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□129□□□268□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□5□□□

[31] [illegible]325[illegible]787[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1204[illegible]1261[illegible]

[32] Josephus[illegible]*AJ* 14.314-16[illegible]14.301-12[illegible]quotes from Loeb translation[illegible]J. Osgood[illegible]*Caesar's Legacy*[illegible]*Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*[illegible]2006[illegible]pp. 105-6[illegible]Dio 51.20.6-8[illegible]S. Price[illegible]*Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*[illegible]1985[illegible]J. Scheid[illegible]‘To honour the Princeps and venerate the gods. Public cult[illegible]neighbourhoodcults[illegible]and imperial cult in Augustan Rome’[illegible]in J. Edmondson[illegible]ed.[illegible]*Augustus*[illegible]2009[illegible]pp. 275-99[illegible]288-99[illegible]

[33] Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 41.1[illegible]Dio 51.21.5.

[34] [illegible]

[illegible]47[illegible]·[illegible]

[35] [illegible]

[36] [illegible]

[37] Josephus□*AJ* 15.161-78□183-236□*BJ* 1.386-97□431-44□with E. Schürer□G. Vermes & F. Millar□*The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* Vol.1□1973□□pp. 301-3□Josephus□*BJ* 1.397□□□□□

[38] Dio 51.18.2-3□with A. Sherwin-White□*Roman Foreign Policy in the East□168 BC-AD1*□1984□□pp. 324-41□□J. Rich□‘Augustus□War and Peace’□in J. Edmondson□ed.□□*Augustus*□2009□□pp. 143-8□

[39] Dio 51.19.2-3□20.4 with W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 39-41□□□□□□Dio 51.21.4□

[40] □□□□□□□Macrobius 2.4.29□

[41] Strabo□*Geog.*12.35□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[42] □□□□Dio 51.21.4-9□Plutarch□*Antony* 86□*Res Gestae* 4□□□□□□□□□□with C. Lange□*Res Publica Constituta. Actium□Apollo and the Accomplishment of the Triumviral Assignment*□2009□□pp. 148-57□W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□p.41□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 6.4□

[43] *Res Gestae* 8.

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]27[illegible]2[illegible]

凭借这项功业，元老院授予我“奥古斯都”的称号。

——《神圣奥古斯都功业录》，第34节[1]

[1] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

我扑灭内战的烈火之后，在我第六次和第七次担任执政官期间，全体人民同意将全部政权交给我。后来我将共和国交还给罗马元老院和人民，由他们的意志来主宰共和国。

——《神圣奥古斯都功业录》[1]

共和国古老而传统的形式得到了恢复。

——维莱伊乌斯·帕特尔库鲁斯，2世纪初[2]

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[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]104[illegible]3[illegible][4][illegible]·[illegible][5]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]34[illegible]

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[illegible]28[illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible][7]

[illegible]·[illegible]49[illegible]45[illegible]1000[illegible][8]

[illegible]71[illegible]——[illegible]406.3[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]43[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][12]

[illegible]28[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]44[illegible]28[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]27[illegible]28[illegible][14]

[illegible]30[illegible]28[illegible]

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[illegible] 28 [illegible] [15]

9 [illegible] [16]

[illegible] 10 [illegible] 9 [illegible] 36 [illegible] [17] [illegible]

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[illegible]8[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]222[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][23] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][24]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]28[illegible]

[illegible]44[illegible] [28]

[illegible]28[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [29]

[illegible]

[illegible]27[illegible]1[illegible]1[illegible]1[illegible]13[illegible] [30]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

除了我已经辞世的父亲，谁比我更宽宏大度？谁比我更接近神[illegible]？诸神临鉴，我拥有这么多勇敢的士兵，既有罗马人也有盟军，他

们对我绝对忠诚。我主宰着赫拉克勒斯双柱[31]之内的整片海洋，只有几个部落除外。我在每一块大陆都拥有城市和行省……你们全都安宁和平……最重要的是，都乐于服从我。虽然如此，我却自愿自觉地放弃如此伟大的统治权，放弃如此庞大的领地。[32]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

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1[illegible]14[illegible]1[illegible]14[illegible]30[illegible]·[illegible]1[illegible]15[illegible]1[illegible]16[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]375[illegible]225[illegible]9[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]44[illegible] [37]

1[illegible]13[illegible]15[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible][38]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][39][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]54[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]44[illegible][41][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][42]

[illegible]·[illegible]44[illegible]·[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]9[illegible]28[illegible]·[illegible][43]

[1] *Res Gestae* 34[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible]slightly modified[illegible].

[2] Velleius Paterculus 2.89.3.

[3] Dio 51.21.3-4[illegible]*Res Gestae* 15.[illegible]·[illegible]Suetonius[illegible]

Augustus 25.3□□□□□□P. Brunt□*Italian Manpower 225 BC-AD 14*□1971□□pp. 332-44□□L. Keppie□*Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47-14 BC*□1983□□□pp. 58-86□

[4] □□□□□□□□□□330□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[5] Dio 51.22.1-4□Crook in *CAH2* X□pp. 75-6□□P. Zanker□trans. A. Shapiro□□*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*□1988□□pp. 79-82□

[6] Dio 51.22.4-9□*Res Gestae* 22□□□□□□□□Dio 51.23.1□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□

[7] Dio 53.1.1-2□with E. Stavely□‘The “Fasces” and “Imperium Maius”’□*Historia* 12□1963□□pp. 458-84□□□466-8□F. Millar□‘Triumvirate and Principate’□*JRS* 63□1973□□pp. 50-67□esp.62□

[8] Cicero□*ad Fam*.6.18.1□*Philippics* 11.5.12□13.13.27□Dio 43.47.3□Suetonius□*Caesar* 76.2-3□80.2□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 78-96□□□□□·□□□□□□□J. Osgood□*Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*□2006□□pp. 257-60□283-8□□□□□□□Dio 48.34.5□

[9] □□□

[10] Dio 52.42.1-5□Suetonius□*Augustus* 35.1-2□*Res Gestae* 8.

[11] Caius Calvisius Sabinus□□□□□□□□□□5□26□□Caius Carrinas□□□□□□□□□7□6□□Lucius Autronius Paetus□□□□□□□□□□□□□□8□16□□

[12] Tacitus□*Ann*.3.28 '*non mos□non ius*'□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□C. Lange□*Res Publica Constituta. Actium□Apollo and the Accomplishment of the Triumviral Assignment*□2009□□*passim*□

[13] Dio 53.2.3□with W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 83-6□Crook in *CAH2* X□pp. 76-7.J. Liebeschuetz□'The settlement of 27BC'□in C. Deroux□*Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*□2008□□pp. 345-65.

[14] □□□A. Jones□'The elections under Augustus□' *JRS* 45□1955□□pp. 9-21□esp.11□□□□□Dio 53.2.1□3□

[15] □□□□□□*Res Gestae* 20□Dio 53.2.4-6□with W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 83-4□□□□P. Zanker□trans. A. Shapiro□□*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*□1988□□pp. 101-36.

[16] Dio 53.1.4-6.

[17] □□

[18] Dio 53.1.3□with P. Zanker□trans. A. Shapiro□□*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*□1988□□pp. 65-71□240-54□□T. Wiseman□‘*Conspicui Postes Tectaque Digna Deo*□the public image of aristocratic and imperial houses in the Late Republic and Early Empire’□in *L’Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire*□1987□□pp. 393-413□□□399-407□□□□□□□□□□□□□□S. Zink□‘Reconstructing the Palatine temple of Apollo□a case study in early Augustantemple design’□*JRA* 21□2008□□pp. 47-63□

[19] Purcell in *CAH2* X□pp. 787-8□P. Zanker□trans. A. Shapiro□□*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*□1988□□pp. 66-71□Velleius Paterculus 2.86.2.

[20] □□□

[21] Dio 51.23.2-27.3□Livy□*Per.*134.

[22] Dio 51.25.2□with J. Rich□‘Augustus and the spolia opima’□*Chiron* 26□1996□□pp. 85-127□□□95-7□□□□T. Barnes□‘The victories of Augustus’□*JRS* 64□1974□□pp. 21-6□

[23] □□□□·□□□·□□□□□268□□208□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□225□□□□□□□□□□□□218□□201□□□

[24] Livy 4.20.5-7□Loeb translation□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□H. Flower□‘The tradition of the spolia opima□M. Claudius Marcellus and Augustus’□*Classical Antiquity* 19□2000□□pp. 34-64□

[25] □□□□□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 424□496-7□

[26] □□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 308-9□‘Livy and Augustus’□*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 64□1959□□pp. 27-87□□□43-7□Crook in *CAH2* X□p.80□W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 87-8□Millar□1973□□p.62□J. Richardson□‘*Imperium Romanum*□Empireand the Language of Power’□*JRS* 81□1991□□pp. 1-9□□□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□E. Badian□‘“Crisis Theories” and the beginning of the Principate’□in W. Wirth□*Romanitas and Christianitas*□1982□□pp. 18-41□□□24-7□□J. Rich□‘Augustus and the spolia opima’□*Chiron* 26□1996□□

[27] Suetonius□*Augustus* 28.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 52.1.2-41.2□with F. Millar□*A Study of Cassius Dio*□1964□□pp. 102-18□

[28] □□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□P. Cart ledge□‘The second thoughts of Augustus on the res publica in 28/7 BC’□*Greece and*

Rome 31□1984□□pp. 30-40□□□34-5□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 317-18□E. Salmon□'The Evolution of Augustus' Principate'□*Historia* 5□1956□□pp. 456-78□□□459-62□K. Galinsky□*Augustus. Introduction to the Life of an Emperor*□2012□□pp. 63□152-3.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[29] □□□□□□□Macrobius□*Saturnalia* 1.12.35□□□□W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 81-2□

[30] Suetonius□*Augustus* 84□Dio 53.2.7□11.1□□□□□□□53.3.1-10.8□□□□□□□

[31] “□□□□□□□”□□

[32] Dio 53.8.1-2□Loeb translation□.

[33] Dio 53.11.1-4.

[34] Dio 53.11.5-12.1.

[35] *Res Gestae* 34□with W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 86-8□P. Zanker□trans. A. Shapiro□□*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*□1988□□pp. 91-4.

[36] Dio 53.12.2-16.3□with W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 89-95□J. Liebeschuetz□‘The settlement of 27BC’□in C. Deroux□*Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*□2008□□pp. 346-53□E. Salmon□‘The Evolution of Augustus’ Principate’□*Historia* 5□1956□□pp. 459-67□Cartledge□P.□‘The second thoughts of Augustus on the res publica in 28/7 BC’□*Greece and Rome* 31□1984□□pp. 31-8□J. Ferrary□‘The powers of Augustus’□in J. Edmondson□ed.□□*Augustus*□2009□□pp. 90-136□□□90-99□A. Jones□‘The imperium of Augustus’□*JRS* 41□1951□□pp. 112-19□□□112-14□□G. Chilver□‘Augustus and the Roman constitution 1939-1950’□*Historia* 1□1950□□pp. 408-35□□J. Rich□‘Augustus□War and Peace’□in J. Edmondson□ed.□□*Augustus*□2009□□pp. 137-64□esp.153-7□□□□□□□□□W. Eck□‘Senatorial Self-Representation□Developments in the Augustan Period’□in F. Millar & E. Segal□eds□□*Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*□1990□□pp. 129-67□

[37] Dio 53.11.5□with G. Watson□*The Roman Soldier*□1985□□pp. 97-8□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Campbell□*The Emperor and the RomanArmy 31 BC-AD 235*□1984□□*passim*□

[38] □□Horace□*Epodes* 7.17-20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Livy 1.16.1-4□

[39] □□□·□□□□□239□□169□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[40] *Res Gestae* 34□Suetonius□*Augustus* 7□Dio 53.16.7□Velleius Paterculus 2.91□W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 92-5□P. Zanker□trans. A. Shapiro□□*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*□1988□□pp. 95-100□R. Syme□'Livy and Augustus'□*Harvard Studies of Classical Philology* 64□1959□□p.59□□'Imperator Caesar□a study in nomenclature'□*Historia* 7□1958□□pp. 172-88□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□S. Weinstock□*Divus Julius*□1971□□pp. 228-59□

[41] □44□2□15□□□□□□□□□

[42] Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 77.

[43] Suetonius□*Augustus* 24.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 34-7□

[illegible]

记住，罗马人，因为这些便是你的技艺，你必须用力量统治各民族，维护和平繁荣，饶恕被征服者，在战争中击败骄傲者。

——维吉尔，前20年代[1]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]54[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1[illegible][2][illegible]

布立吞人和可怕的帕提亚人

被纳入帝国之后，

奥古斯都将被视为人间的神明。

[illegible][3]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]55[illegible]54[illegible]·[illegible][4]

[illegible]·[illegible]26[illegible]1[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible][5]

[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]70[illegible]40[illegible][6][illegible]·[illegible][7]

[illegible]1[illegible]89[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]40[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible][9]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10]

[illegible][11]

西部各行省，包括西班牙和高卢

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“[illegible]”

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]27[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][12]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]60[illegible]·[illegible][13]

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26[illegible]13[illegible]156[illegible]1560[illegible]1[illegible]

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[illegible]63[illegible]3[illegible][16]

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[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][19]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

他认为，对一位精明强干的领袖来说，最不得体的就是草率和鲁莽。所以他最喜欢的一些口号包括：“着急也要从容！”“指挥官宁要稳妥，不要勇敢！”以及“只要做得好，慢一点也无妨！”

他曾说，无论是一场战役，还是整个战争，都不应当草率地开始，只有在成功的希望明显大于失败的代价时才能开启。他说，那些为了少许利益而冒巨大风险的人，就像用金钩钓鱼，如果钩子丢了，无论捕到多少鱼都不足以弥补。[20]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][21]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]26[illegible]·[illegible][22][illegible][23]

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[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30]

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[1] Virgil□*Aeneid* 6.851-3□*tu regere imperio populos□Romane□memento□Hae tibi erunt artes□pacisque imponere morem□parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*.

[2] □□□□□□

[3] Horace□*Odes* 3.5.2-4□Loeb translation□slightly modified□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Rich□'Augustus□War□and Peace'□in L.de Blois□P. Erdkamp□O. Hekster□G.de Kleijn & S. Mols□eds□□*The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power□Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network□Impact of Empire□Roman Empire□c.200 BC-AD 476□*□2003□□pp. 329-57 = J. Edmondson□ed.□□*Augustus*□2009□□pp. 137-64□□□143-8□□□□□□□Caesar□*BG*.4.20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Caesar. The Life of a Colossus*□2006□□pp. 278-92□

[4] □□□M. Todd□*Roman Britain*□3rd edn□1999□□pp. 15-22□G. Webster□*The Roman Invasion of Britain*□rev.edn□199

3□□pp. 41-74□□J. Manley□*AD 43 The Roman Invasion of Britain-A Reassessment*□2002□□pp. 37-50□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Agricola* 38□

[5] Dio 53.22.5□Orosius 6.21.1-11□Florus 2.33.46-59.

[6] □□□·□□□□□□123□□72□□

[7] □□□□□□□□□□□□A. Ribera i Lacomba & M. Calvo Galvez□'La primera evidencia arqueológica de la destrucción de Valentia por Pompeyo'□*Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8□1995□□pp. 19-40□□Caesar□*Spanish War* 32□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□S. Dyson□*The Creation of the Roman Frontier*□1985□□□□pp. 199-236□□J. Richardson□*The Romans in Spain*□1996□□pp. 41-126□□□□□□□□□□□□F. Queseda Sanz□'*Gladius hispaniensis*□an archaeological view from Iberia'□*Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 8□1997□□pp. 251-70□*Armas de la Antigua Iberia de Tartessos a Numancia*□2010□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[8] □□□□□□64□□63□□□23□□

[9] □□□□□□Cicero□*pro Balbo*□J. Richardson□*The Romans in Spain*□1996□□pp. 103□106□117□119□126□□□Cicero□*ad Fam*.10.32.3□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□M. Griffin□‘The Elder Seneca and Spain’□*JRS* 62□1972□□pp. 1-19□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Strabo□*Geog*.3.5.3□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Richardson□*The Romans in Spain*□1996□□pp. 149-78□

[10] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□L. Curchin□*The Romanization of Central Spain. Complexity*□*Diversity and Change in a Provincial Hinterland*□2004□□□□pp. 69-143□

[11] □□□Strabo in J. Richardson□*The Romans in Spain*□1996□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□pp. 150-68□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 56.43.3□

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□J. Campbell□*The Emperor and the Roman Army 31 BC-AD 235*□1984□□

[13] □□□□□□□□□□□□□L. Keppie□*The Making of the Roman Army*□1984□□pp. 132-54□H. Parker□*The Roman Legions*□1957□□pp. 72-92□□R. Syme□‘Notes on the legions under Augustus’□*JRS* 23□1933□□pp. 14-33□□□25□□□□□□□□□□

[14] □29□□□□12□□□□□□□*Res Gestae* 15□

[15] Suetonius□*Augustus* 38.2.

[16] Sallust□*Bell. Cat.*24.2□28.4□30.1□56.1-2□59.3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□59.6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 52.27.4-5□□44□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Campbell□*The Emperor and the Roman Army 31 BC-AD 235*□1984□□pp. 101-9□□□□□□□□□R. Smith□*Service in the Post-Marian Roman Army*□1958□□pp. 59-69□

[17] □L. Keppie□*The Making of the Roman Army*□1984□□pp. 134-40□□□142-3□

[18] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Morillo Cerdán□'The Augustean Spanish Experience□The origin of the *limes* system□'□in A. Morillo□N. Hanel & E. Martín□*Limes XX□Estudios sobre la frontera romana. Roman Frontier Studies. Anejos de Gladius* 13 Vol.1□2009□□pp. 239-51□240□R. Syme□'The Spanish War of Augustus'□*American Journal of Philology* 55□1934□□pp. 293-317□298-301□□R. Jones□'The Roman Military Occupation of North-West Spain'□JRS 66□1976□□pp. 45-66□48-52□□□*Caesar's Legio X Equestris*□□*BG* 1.42□L. Keppie□*The Making of the Roman Army*□1984□□p.137□

[19] Suetonius□*Augustus* 24.2-25.1□□□"□□□"□□□□□□□J. Campbell□*The Emperor and the Roman Army 31 BC-AD 235*□1984□□pp. 32-93□

[20] Suetonius□*Augustus* 25.4.

[21] □□□□□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□‘“Instinctive genius”□the depiction of Caesar the general’□in K. Welch & A. Powell□eds□□*Julius Caesaras Artful Reporter□The War Commentaries as Political Instruments*□1998□□pp. 193-219□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[22] □□□□□□□□□

[23] Dio 53.23.5-7□*ILS* 8995□1l.4 ff□□Crook in *CAH2* X□pp. 80-81□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Gram*.16□

[24] Dio 53.23.6□24.1-2□□□□B. Levick□*Augustus. Image and Substance*□2010□□pp. 174-5□

[25] Suetonius□*Augustus* 66.2□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 309-10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□28□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[26] □□□26□□25□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Morillo Cerdán□‘The Augustean Spanish Experience□The origin of the *limes* system□’□in A. Morillo□N. Hanel & E. Martín□*Limes XX□Estudios sobre la frontera romana. Roman Frontier Studies. Anejos de Gladius* 13 Vol.1□2009□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gruen in *CAH2* X□pp. 163-6.R. Syme□‘The Spanish Warof Augustus’□*American Journal of Philology* 55□1934□□‘The conquest of North-West Spain’□*Roman Papers*.vol.2□1979□□pp. 825-54□□D. Magie□‘Augustus’ War in Spain□26-25 BC□□*Classical Philology* 15

□1920□□pp. 323-39 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 85.1□□□□□with J. Rich□‘Cantabrian closure□Augustus’ Spanish War and the ending of his memoirs’□in C. Smith & A. Powell□eds□□*The Lost Memoirs of Augustus and the Development of Roman Autobiography*□2009□□pp. 145-72□Dio 53.25.6-7□□□□□□□□□□□

[27] Orosius 6.21.1-11□Florus 2.33.46-59.

[28] A. Morillo Cerdán□‘The Augustean Spanish Experience□The origin of the *limes* system□’□in A. Morillo□N. Hanel & E. Martín□*Limes XX□Estudios sobre la frontera romana. Roman Frontier Studies. Anejos de Gladius* 13 Vol.1□2009□□p.243.

[29] Florus 2.33.50.

[30] A. Morillo Cerdán□‘The Augustean Spanish Experience□The origin of the *limes* system□’□in A. Morillo□N. Hanel & E. Martín□*Limes XX□Estudios sobre la frontera romana. Roman Frontier Studies. Anejos de Gladius* 13 Vol.1□2009□□pp. 243-4□□□□□□□Dio 54.11.5 with L. Keppie□*The Making of the Roman Army*□1984□□pp. 138□157□

[31] □□Orosius 6.21.19-20□Strabo□*Geog*.12.8.18□with Crook in *CAH2* X□p.82□J. Richardson□*Augustan Rome 44 BC to AD 14.The Restoration of the Republic and the Establishmen*

t of Empire□2012□□pp. 93-4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
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[32] □□□□□□□□□□□□A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 127-9□

□□　“□□□□□□□□”

罗马人民！不久前还冒着生命危险去追寻胜利桂冠的恺撒，如今像赫拉克勒斯一样，从西班牙海岸凯旋归国。让他的夫人，那位为了自己无可比拟的卓越夫君而欣喜的女士，以及我们敬爱领袖的姐姐，向正义的神□做恰当的献祭……

——贺拉斯，前24年，描述恺撒·奥古斯都从西班牙归来[1]

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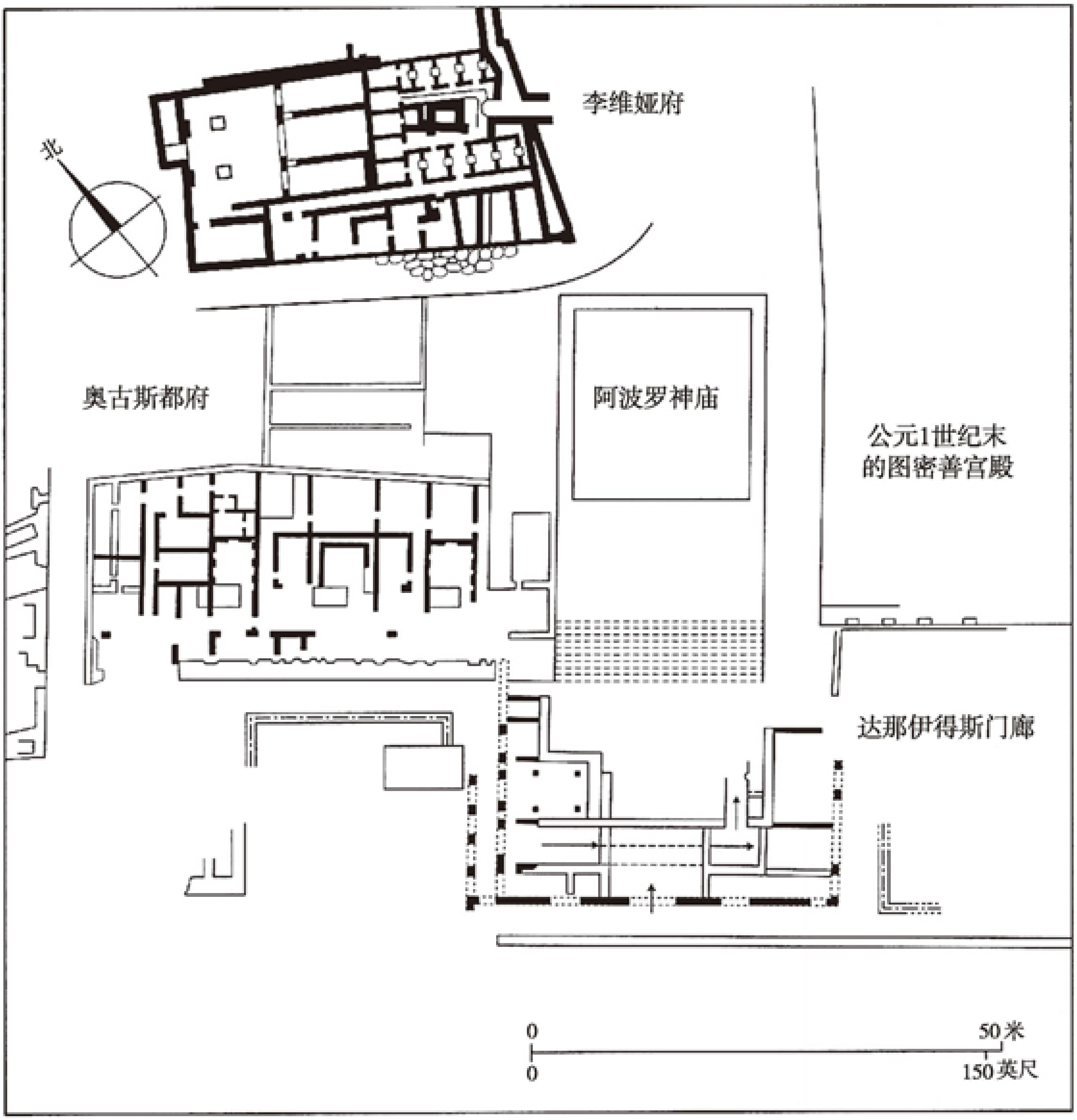

奥古斯都在帕拉丁山上的府邸平面图

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……命运只允许人世短暂地一瞥他的身形，不允许他在凡间停留太久。哦，天上的诸神啊，若你们的这些馈赠延续很久，你们就会觉得罗马人过于强大！著名的战场上，怎样的抽泣声会飘向玛尔斯的伟大城市！父亲台伯河啊，你从新建的坟墓旁流过时，会目睹怎样的送葬队伍！再也没有一位特洛伊血统的青年，会让他的拉丁先祖如此充满期望。罗慕路斯的土地再也不会拥有这样优秀的男儿。呜呼哀哉，他的善良，他的骑士荣誉，他不可战胜的持剑的臂膊！在战斗中，无人能够面对他而毫发无损。他徒步冲向敌人，或者纵马奔驰，用马刺催动口泛白沫的骏马。[31]

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[1] Horace[illegible]*Odes* 3.14.1-8[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible].

[2] Dio 53.28.1-3[illegible]*Res Gestae* 15.1[illegible]with Crook in *CAH2* X[illegible]pp. 83-4.

[3] R. Syme[illegible]*The Roman Revolution*[illegible]1960[illegible]p.372[illegible]*ILS* 7448-9[illegible]

[4] [illegible]Basilica[illegible]Basilica[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Basilica[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[5] Dio 53.23.1-4□with P. Zanker□trans. A Shapiro□□*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*□1988□□pp. 139-43.

[6] Dio 53.26.1-5□27.1-2□□□□T. Barnes□‘The Victories of Augustus’□*JRS* 64□1974□□pp. 21-6□

[7] □□□□□□□□□□□□Arabia Felix□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[8] □□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 53.29.3-8□Strabo□*Geog*.16.4.23-4□17.1.53-4□*Res Gestae* 26.5□with S. Sidebotham□‘Aelius Gallus and Arabia’□*Latomus* 45□1986□□pp. 590-602□□Gruen in *CAH2* X□pp. 148-51□

[9] Tacitus□*Ann*.6.11 on Messalla Corvinus□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.403□Crook in *CAH2* X□pp. 81-2□

[10] □□·□□□□□□□187□□□□□□□□□□□

[11] Dio 53.22.1-2.

[12] Dio 53.27.5-6□30.1□Suetonius□*Augustus* 81.1□with E. Badian□‘“Crisis Theories” and the beginning of the Principate’□in W. Wirth□*Romanitas and Christianitas*□1982□□pp. 18-41□31□□□□□□□

[13] Dio 53.26.1-2□28.3-4□31.2-3□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 8-9.3□with B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 19-24□

R. Seager□*Tiberius*□2005□□pp. 12-13.

[14] *Res Gestae* 15.1□□□□□□□□□□Tacitus□*Ann*.2.43□

[15] □□□□*Res Gestae* 15.1□

[16] Suetonius□*Augustus* 59□81.1-2□Dio 53.30.1-3.

[17] Dio 53.31.1□

[18] □□□□□□□□□□□Dio 53.32.3-4□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.335□

[19] Dio 53.32.5-6.

[20] □□□□□□□□□□□□□W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 100-16□A. Jones□'The imperiumof Augustus'□*JRS* 41□1951□□pp. 112-19□E. Stavely□'The "Fasces" and "Imperium Maius"'□*Historia* 12□1963□□pp. 458-84□E. Salmon□'The Evolution of Augustus' Principate'□*Historia* 5□1956□□pp. 456-78□□□464-73□J. Crook□'Some remarks on the Augustan Constitution'□*Classical Review* 3□1953□□pp. 10-12□W. Lacey□'Summi Fastigii Vocabulum□The story of a title'□*JRS* 69□1979□□pp. 28-34□H. Last□'Imperium Maius□A note'□*JRS* 37□1947□□pp. 157-64□J. Ferrary□'The powers of Augustus'□in J. Edmondson□ed.□□*Augustus*□2009□□pp. 90-136□□□99-103□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 335-8□□B. Levick□*Augustus. Image andSubstance*□2010□□pp. 84-7□

[21] Dio 53.32.3.

[22] □□23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 335-6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□B. Levick□*Augustus. Image andSubstance*□2010□□pp. 80-86□□□□□□□□□E. Badian□‘“Crisis Theories” and the beginning of the Principate’□in W. Wirth□*Romanitas and Christianitas*□1982□□pp. 28-38 □□□Dio 54.6.1-2□10.1□□A. Jones□‘The elections under Augustus□’ *JRS* 45□1955□□pp. 9-21□□□13□

[23] Dio 53.32.2.

[24] Tacitus□*Ann*.3.56□with W. Lacey□‘Summi Fastigii Vocabulum□The story of a title’□*JRS* 69□1979□.

[25] T. Wiseman□‘*Conspicui Postes Tectaque Digna Deo*□the public image of aristocratic and imperial houses in the Late Republic and Early Empire’□in *L’Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire*□1987□□pp. 393-413□□□401-12□

[26] Dio 53.32.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 117-31□□□127-31□

[27] Dio 53.31.4-32.1□Velleius Paterculus 2.93.1-2□Josephus□*AJ* 15.350□Suetonius□*Augustus* 66.3.

[28] Dio 53.30.4□33.4□Velleius Paterculus 2.93.1.

[29] [illegible]53.33.4-5[illegible]Tacitus[illegible]*Ann*.1.3[illegible]W. Scheidel[illegible]‘Emperors[illegible]Aristocrats[illegible]and the Grim Reaper[illegible]Towards a Demographic Profile of the Roman Elite’[illegible]*Classical Quarterly* 49[illegible]1999[illegible]pp. 254-81[illegible]

[30] [illegible]·[illegible]50[illegible]45[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible]

[31] Virgil[illegible]*Aeneid* 6.860-65[illegible]870-81[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible]Propertius 3.18.

[32] Dio 54.1.1-3[illegible]G. Rickman[illegible]*The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*[illegible]1980[illegible]pp. 60-66[illegible]179-86[illegible]

[33] Dio 54.1.4-2.1[illegible]*Res Gestae* 5.

[34] Dio 54.2.1-3.1.

[35] [illegible]·[illegible]*BG* 4.11-16[illegible]Plutarch[illegible]*Cato the Younger* 51.1-2[illegible]

[36] [illegible]Dio 54.3.2-4[illegible]Dio 53.31.4[illegible]

[37] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]30[illegible]

[38] [illegible]Dio 54.3.4-8[illegible]R. Syme[illegible]*The Roman Revolution*[illegible]1960[illegible]pp. 333-4[illegible]B. Levick[illegible]*Augustus. Image and Substa*

nce□2010□□pp. 80-83□□D. Stockton□‘Primus and Murena’□*Historia* 14□1965□□pp. 18-40□□24□□23□□□M. Swan□‘The consular fasti of 23 BC and the conspiracy of Varro Murena’□*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 71□1967□□pp. 235-47□E. Badian□‘“Crisis Theories” and the beginning of the Principate’□in W. Wirth□*Romanitas and Christianitas*□1982□□□□□□□□□23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 53.19□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Domitian* 21□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□R. MacMullen□*Enemies of the Roman Order. Treason*□*Unrest and Alienation in the Empire*□1967□□pp. 1-45□

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我迫使帕提亚人归还三支罗马军队的战利品和军旗，并让他们恳求罗马人民的友谊。

——《神圣奥古斯都功业录》[1]

弗拉特斯四世卑躬屈膝，接受了恺撒的帝国统治。

——贺拉斯，约前19年[2]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[30]

[illegible][31]

[illegible]21[illegible]20[illegible][32]

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□20□□19□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□

[illegible][46]

[1] Res Gestae 29.2□Loeb translation□.

[2] Horace□*Epodes* 1.12.27-8□Loeb translation□.

[3] [illegible]F. Millar□‘State and Subject□the impact of monarchy’□in F. Millar & E. Segal□eds□□*Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*□1990□□pp. 37-60□□□46-8[illegible]D. Potter□‘Emperors□their borders and their neighbours□the scope of imperial *mandata*’□in D. Kennedy□ed.□□*The Roman Army in the East. JRA Supplementary Series 18*□1996□□pp. 49-66□

[4] Dio 54.6.1-4□*Res Gestae* 5.

[5] Dio 54.7.1□Strabo□*Geog*.6.2.4-5□Pliny□*NH* 3.90□with R. Wilson in *CAH2* X□pp. 437-9.

[6] [illegible]Magna Graecia[illegible]8[illegible]3[illegible]

[7] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tacitus□*Ann*.12.23.1□Dio 52.42.6□□

[8] □□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□49□□45□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□44□□42□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□32□□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[9] □A. Wallace-Hadrill□‘Image and authority in the coinage of Augustus’□*JRS* 76□1986□□pp. 66-87□

[10] Matthew 22□20-21□□□□F. Millar & E. Segal□eds□□*Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*□1990□□pp. 44-5□

[11] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□160□□□

[12] J. Rea□‘Lease of a Red Cow called Thayris’□*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68□1982□□pp. 277-82.

[13] □□

[14] *Inscriptiones Graecae*□1893-□II 2.3173□□□□J. Camp□*The Archaeology of Athens*□2001□□pp. 187-8□

[15] Strabo□*Geog*.10.5.3.

[16] J. Camp□*The Archaeology of Athens*□2001□□pp. 188-93□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□G. Bowersock□

Augustus and the Greek World□1965□□pp. 42-61□□□85-100□□A. Spawforth□*Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution. Greek Culture in the Roman World*□2012□□pp. 59-86□□□106-17□□□□□□□□□

[17] □□□F. Millar□'Empire and City□Augustus to Julian□Obligations□excuses and status'□*JRS* 73□1983□□pp. 76-96□P. Veyne□*Bread and Circuses*□1992□□□□A. Spawforth□*Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution. Greek Culture in the Roman World*□2012□□

[18] □□□B. Levick in *CAH2* X□pp. 649-50□□□□□·□□□□□□□□Josephus□*AJ* 15.317□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Josephus□*AJ* 15.343□16.129□Gruen in *CAH2* X□pp. 155-7□□□□

[19] Dio 54.9.3□Josephus□*AJ* 15.343-8□360□*BJ* 1.398-400.

[20] □□□D. Roller□*The Building Programme of Herod the Great*□1998□□□□□C. Brandon□'Cement□concrete and settling barges at Sebastos□comparisons with other Roman harbour examples and the descriptions of Vitruvius'□in A. Raban & K. Houm□eds□□*Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia*□1996□□pp. 25-40□

[21] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□M. Speidel□'The Roman army in Judaea under the Procurators'□in M. Speidel□*Roman Army Stu*

dies Vol.2[illegible]Mavors[illegible]1992[illegible]pp. 224-32[illegible]

[22] [illegible]·[illegible]21[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[23] [illegible]E. Schürer[illegible]G. Vermes & F. Millar[illegible]*The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* Vol.1[illegible]1973[illegible]pp. 287-329[illegible]309-15[illegible]Josephus[illegible]*AJ* 16.149[illegible]*BJ* 1.427[illegible]15.268-71[illegible]15.280-91[illegible]G. Bowersock[illegible]*Augustus and the Greek World*[illegible]1965[illegible]pp. 54-6[illegible]A. Spawforth[illegible]*Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution. Greek Culture in the Roman World*[illegible]2012[illegible]pp. 84-6[illegible]

[24] Josephus[illegible]*AJ* 15.217[illegible]17.198[illegible]*BJ* 1.672[illegible]E. Schürer[illegible]G. Vermes & F. Millar[illegible]*The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* Vol.1[illegible]1973[illegible]p.315[illegible]

[25] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[26] Josephus[illegible]*AJ* 15.272-9.

[27] Josephus□*AJ* 15.305-16.

[28] R. MacMullen□*Romanization in the Time of Augustus*□2000□□pp. 1-29.

[29] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[30] L. Jalabert□R. Mouterde et al.□*Inscriptiones grecques et latines de la Syrie*□1929-□3.718 = R. Sherk□*Roman Documents from the Greek East*□1969□□no.58□doc.iii□J. Reynolds□*Aphrodisias and Rome*□1982□□No.13.

[31] Dio 54.7.2.

[32] Dio 54.7.1-6□Suetonius□*Augustus* 82.1□□□□□□□□□□□□

[33] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□410□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[34] Dio 54.7.2□6.

[35] □□□□Kandake□Candace□□□21□□□□□□□□□□□□Amanirenas□□

[36] Dio 54.5.4-6□Strabo□*Geog*.17.1.54□Loeb translation□□Dio 54.6.1□□□□□□□

[37] □Velleius Paterculus 2.91.3-4□Suetonius□*Augustus* 19.1□□Dio 53.24.4-6□□□□□□□□□□□□□26□□with Crook in *CA*

H2 X□p.89□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 371-2□W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 148-9□

[38] Dio 53.33.1-2.

[39] Dio 54.9.4-6□Velleius Paterculus 2.94.4□with B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 25-7□R. Seager□*Tiberius*□2005□□pp. 13-14.

[40] □□□□□prima porta□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□12□□1863□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[41] □□□□□·□□□1893□1918□□1918□11□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dulce et decorum est□……□□“□□□□”□“□□□□□”□

[42] Dio 54.8.1-2□*Res Gestae* 29.2□Velleius Paterculus 2.91.1□Suetonius□*Augustus* 21.3□*Tiberius* 9.1□Ovid□*Fasti* 5.579-84□with D. Kennedy□‘Parthia and Rome□eastern perspectives’□in Kennedy□1996□□pp. 67-90□□□82-3□□B. Campbell□‘War and diplomacy□Rome and Parthia□31 BC-AD 235’□in J. Rich & G. Shipley□eds□□*War and Society in the Roman World*□1

993□□pp. 213-40□esp.220-28□*dulce et decorum estpro patria mori*□Horace□*Odes* 3.2.13□

[43] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Rich□‘The Parthian honours’□*Papers of the British School at Rome* 66□1998□□pp. 71-128□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Pompey* 14.4□Pliny *NH* 8.4□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Julius Caesar* 37□□□□□□□□□□

[44] □□□□□J. Rich□‘The Parthian honours’□*Papers of the British School at Rome* 66□1998□□pp. 97-115□□□□□□□□□□Gruenin *CAH2* X□pp. 159-60□Levick□1996□□pp. 236-7□

[45] □W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 138-40□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.367□Crook in *CAH2* X□p.91□

[46] Dio 54.9.8-10□*Res Gestae* 31-2□with Rich□‘Augustus□War□and Peace’□in L.deBlois□P. Erdkamp□O. Hekster□G.de Kleijn & S. Mols□eds□□*The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power□Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network□Impact of Empire□Roman Empire□c.200 BC-AD 476□*□□2003□□pp. 329-57 = J. Edmondson□ed.□□*Augustus*□2009□□pp. 137-64□□□145-6□

[illegible]

从这高贵的血脉，特洛伊的恺撒将会出世，他会把他的帝国扩张到大洋边，他的荣耀将升至星辰……假以时日，不再焦虑的你们，将会欢迎满载东方战利品的他，去往天堂；人们在发誓时也会呼唤他的名字。然后，战争会停息，野蛮的年代变得温和……

——维吉尔，前20年代末[1]

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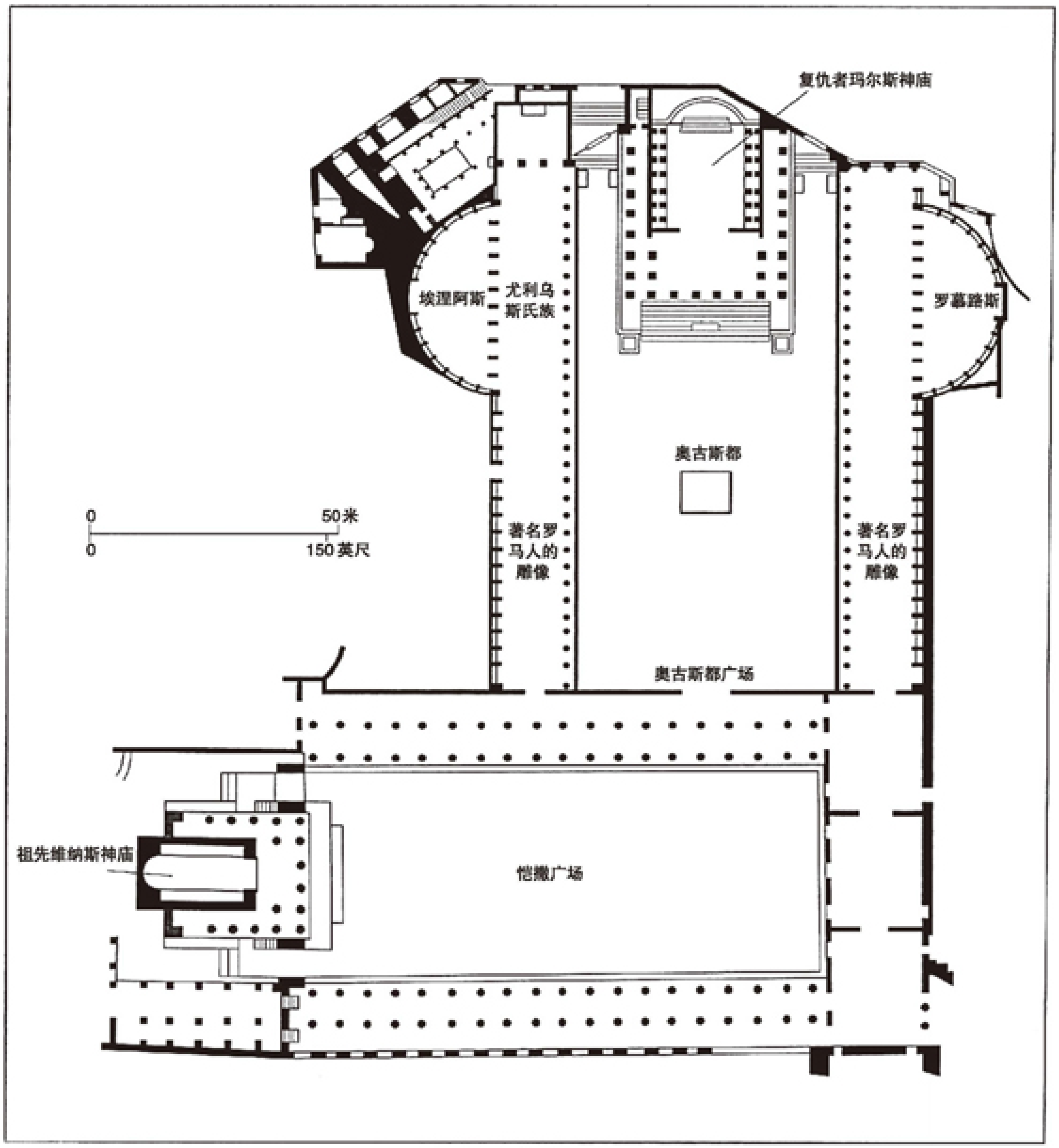
复仇者玛尔斯神庙
埃涅阿斯
尤利乌斯氏族
罗慕路斯
奥古斯都
0
50米
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150英尺
著名罗马人的雕像
著名罗马人的雕像
奥古斯都广场
祖先维纳斯神庙
恺撒广场

奥古斯都广场

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[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][4]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]18[illegible]19[illegible][7]

[illegible]

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[illegible][13]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”。[15]

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[illegible][17]

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[illegible]·[illegible]23[illegible][21]

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[illegible] [24]

[illegible]18[illegible]·[illegible]21[illegible]·[illegible] [25]

[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]19[illegible]17[illegible] [26]

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[illegible]saeculum[illegible]146[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]110[illegible]17[illegible][37]

[illegible]ludi saeculares[illegible]Secular Games[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][38]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]……”

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[illegible]110[illegible]6[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]2[illegible]6[illegible]1[illegible]6[illegible]2[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41]

□□·[illegible]

[1] Virgil□*Aeneid* 1.286-94□Loeb translation□.

[2] Donatus□*Life of Virgil* 31-2□35.

[3] Suetonius□*Horace*□Loeb translation□.

[4] “□□□□□□□□□”□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 85.2□*Horace passim*□□□□P. White□*Promised Verse. Poets in the Society of Augustan Rome*□1993□□□□pp. 3-34□112-55□J. Griffin□‘Augustus and the poets□“Caesar qui cogereposset”□’ in F. Millar & E. Segal□eds□□*Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*□1990□□pp. 189-218□and K. Galinsky□*Augustan Culture*□1996□□pp. 225-79[illegible]

[5] [illegible]

[6] Suetonius□*Horace*□Horace□*Epistulae* 2.1.156-7[illegible]the preface to *BG* 8□□□□P. White□*Promised Verse. Poets in the Society of Augustan Rome*□1993□□pp 112-42□□A. Powell□*Virgil the Partisan*□2008□□□□pp. 3-30□

[7] Propertius 3.5□9□12.

[8] Donatus□*Life of Virgil* 20-24□34□with K. Galinsky□*Augustan Culture*□1996□□pp. 246-53.

[9] Donatus□*Life of Virgil* 35-41.

[10] J. Ziolkowski & J. Putnam□*The Virgilian Tradition. The First Fifteen Hundred Years*□2008□□pp. 44-5.

[11] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[12] K. Galinsky□*Augustan Culture*□1996□□pp. 229-31□A. Powell□*Virgil the Partisan*□2008□□pp. 11-12□151□153-5□159-61.

[13] Dido and a ‘little Aeneas’□Virgil□*Aeneid* 4.328-9□Cleopatra 8.685-714.

[14] Virgil□*Aeneid* 10.510-605□12.291-305[illegible]12.295□Dido's spirit 6.450-76□

[15] Virgil□*Aeneid* 12.945-52.

[16] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□G. Woolf□'Roman Peace'□in J. Rich & G. Shipley□eds□□*War and Society in the Roman World*□1993□□pp. 171-94□□□178-85□

[17] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□Virgil *Aeneid* 10.510-605□

[18] Virgil□*Aeneid* 1.286-94□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6.666-70□□A. Powell□*Virgil the Partisan*□2008□□pp. 42-3□133□□□□□·□□□□□□6.828-35□

[19] □□□“□□”□□□□·□□□·□□□□340□□273□□□

[20] Dio 54.10.1-7□□□□□□□□□P. Brunt□'The role of the Senate in the Augustan regime'□*Classical Quarterly* 34.2□1984□□pp. 423-44□□□429-30□

[21] Suetonius□*Augustus* 37□B. Levick□*Augustus. Image and Substance*□2010□□pp. 89-90□E. Salmon□'The Evolution of Augustus' Principate'□*Historia* 5□1956□□pp. 456-78□□□471-3□A. Jones□'The *Imperium* of Augustus'□*JRS*41□1951□□pp. 112-19□□□117□□□□□□□□□E. Stavely□'The "Fasces" and "Imperium Maius"'□*Historia* 12□1963□□pp. 458-84□

[22] Dio 54.13.1-14.5□Suetonius□*Augustus* 54□with Crook in *CAH2* X□pp. 91-3.

[23] Dio 54.15.1-8□Suetonius□*Augustus* 35□54□with R. Talbert□‘Augustus and the Senate’□*Greece and Rome* 31□1984□□pp. 55-63□□□61□

[24] Dio 54.15.1-4□16.1□17.3□Suetonius□*Augustus* 35□with A. Jones□‘The elections under Augustus□’ *JRS* 45□1955□.

[25] Dio 54.6.4-6□8.5□10.4□12.4-5.

[26] Dio 54.11.1-6□□□□□□□□□□

[27] Dio 54.12.4-5□with W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 117-31□□□□□□□□□□

[28] Suetonius□*Augustus* 55.1□□□□□

[29] Suetonius□*Augustus* 53.2-3□□□□□□□□□

[30] Macrobius□*Saturnalia* 2.4.31.

[31] Dio 54.10.5-7□16.1-2□*Res Gestae* 6.2□with Crook in *CAH2* X□pp. 92-3.

[32] Dio 54.16.3-5.

[33] Dio 54.16.7.

[34] Dio 54.16.6□□□□A. Wallace-Hadrill□‘Civilis Principis□between citizenand king’□*JRS* 72□1982□□pp. 32-48□

[35] Dio 54.23□Pliny□*NH* 9.77□Seneca□*de ira* 3.40.2□*de clementia* 1.18.2□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.410□□□Vedins□R. Syme□'Who was Vedius Pollio□'□*Roman Papers* Vol.2□1979□□pp. 518-29□

[36] Suetonius□*Augustus* 45.4□55□Dio 54.17.4-5.

[37] □□□□□□□K. Galinsky□*Augustan Culture*□1996□□pp. 100-06□B. Levick□*Augustus. Image and Substance*□2010□□p. 152□Price in *CAH2* X□pp. 834-7□

[38] □□□□□Quindecimviri sacris faciundis□□·□□

[39] □□□□□Quirinus□□□

[40] Horace□*Carmen Saeculare* 17-20□50-52□Loeb translation□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□N. Lewis & M. Reinhold□eds□□*Roman Civilization. Selected Readings* Vol.1□*The Republic and the Augustan Age*□3rd edn□1990□□pp. 612-16.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[41] Suetonius□*Horace*□*Augustus* 86.2□Donatus□*Life of Virgil* 9□Dio 55.7.1-6□C. Williams□*Roman Homosexuality. Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity*□1999□□pp. 157-9.

[illegible]

奥古斯都·恺撒……因为长期待在首都，受到很多人的憎恶。

——狄奥，3世纪初[1]

我没有向任何部落发动非正义战争，平定了阿尔卑斯山，从最接近亚得里亚海的地区，一直到托斯卡纳海。

——《神圣奥古斯都功业录》[2]

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[illegible][40][illegible][41]

[1] Dio 54.19.2[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible].

[2] *Res Gestae* 26.

[3] Dio 54.20.4-6[illegible]Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 23.1[illegible]Strabo[illegible]*Geog*.7.1.4[illegible]

[4] Dio 54.19.1-2.

[5] Dio 54.19.3□□□□□□□□Price in *CAH2* X□p.822□

[6] R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.369.

[7] □□□□□□16□□□□□□□□·□□□□□·□□□

[8] Crook in *CAH2* X□pp. 94-5.

[9] Dio 54.19.6□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 12.2□B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□p.27□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 403-4.

[10] Dio 53.12.7□54.4.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□C. Goudineau in *CAH2* X□pp. 471-87□M. Christol□*Une Histoire Provinciale. La Gaule narbonnaiseav. J.-C.au IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.*□2010□□□□'La municipalisation de la Gaule narbonnaise'□pp. 105-28□□J. Drinkwater□*Roman Gaul. The Three Provinces*□*58 BC-AD 260*□1983□□pp. 20-21□

[11] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□S. Dyson□*The Creation of the Roman Frontier*□1985□□pp. 165-73□Pliny□*NH*.3.31□

[12] □□□□J. Drinkwater□*Roman Gaul. The Three Provinces*□*58 BC-AD 260*□1983□□pp. 17-25□□Goudineau in *CAH2* X□pp. 487-502□

[13] □□□□·□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*Caesar. The Life of a Colossus*□2006□□pp. 205-92 =□2007□□pp. 248-353□

[14] Dio 54.20.1-2□22.1-2□Florus 2.22□Strabo□*Geog*.4.6.7-8.

[15] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[19] Dio 54.22.2-5□Velleius Paterculus 2.95.1-2□Strabo□*Geog*.4.6.9□*Res Gestae* 26□Horace□*Odes* 4.4□14□with Gruen in *CAH2* X□pp. 169-71□C. Wells□*The German Policy of Augustus. An Examination of the Archaeological Evidence*□1972□□pp. 59-89□□G. Alföldy□*Noricum*□1974□□pp. 52-61.

[20] □Wolff in *CAH2* X□pp. 535-41□

[21] J. Drinkwater□*Roman Gaul. The Three Provinces□58 BC-AD 260*□1983□□pp. 12□21□119-40□C. Wells□*The German Policy of Augustus. An Examination of the Archaeological Evidence*□1972□□pp. 93-148.

[22] □□□□□□□A. Tchernia□‘Italian wine in Gaul at the end of the Republic’□in P. Garnsey□K. Hopkins & C. Whittaker□eds□□*Trade in the Ancient Economy*□1983□□pp. 87-104□□□□□□□□□□□□□N. Roymans□*Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul□An Anthropological Perspective. Cingula* 12□1990□□□□pp. 17-47□□B. Cunliffe□*Greeks□Romans and Barbarians□Spheres of Interaction*□1988□□□□pp. 38-58□80-105□

[23] □□□civitas□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[24] R. MacMullen□*Romanization in the Time of Augustus*□2000□□pp. 85-120□P. Wells□*The Barbarians Speak. How the Conquered Peoples Shaped the Roman Empire*□1999□□pp. 49-78□B. Cunliffe□*Greeks□Romans and Barbarians□Spheres of Interaction*□1988□□pp. 48-9□86-7□96-7□132-4□S. Dyson□*The Creation of the Roman Frontier*□1985□□pp. 137-9□154□□C. Goudineau□*César et la Gaule*□1995□□pp. 141-3□

[25] J. Drinkwater□*Roman Gaul. The Three Provinces□58 BC-AD 260*□1983□□pp. 18-27□93-118□141-59.

[26] Caesar□*BG* 6.15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pliny□*NH* 30.4.13□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Drinkwater□*Roman Gaul. The Three Provinces□58 BC-AD 260*□1983□□pp. 38-9□44□179-81□206-7□□T. Derks□*Gods□Temples and Ritual Practices□The*

Transformation of Religious Ideas and Values in Roman Gaul □1998□□*passim*□

[27] □□□Alföldy in *CAH2* X□pp. 449-63□J. Richardson□*The Romans in Spain*□1996□□pp. 41-126□□B. Lowe□*Roman Iberia. Economy*□*Society and Culture*□2009□□esp.pp. 87-115□□□□□A. Morillo Cerdán□‘The Augustean Spanish Experience□The origin of the *limes* system□’□in A. Moirillo□N. Hanel & E. NOTES 575 Martín□*Limes XX*□*Estudios sobre la frontera romana. Roman Frontier Studies. Anejosde Gladius* 13 Vol.1□2009□□pp. 239-51□□□244-7□

[28] □W. Mierse□*Temples and Towns in Roman Iberia. The Social Dynamics of Sanctuary Designs from the Third Century BC to the Third Century AD*□1999□□pp. 54-127□B. Lowe□*Roman Iberia. Economy*□*Society and Culture*□2009□□pp. 87-115□□□R. MacMullen□*Romanization in the Time of Augustus* □2000□□pp. 50-84□W. Trillmich□trans. C. Nader□□*Colonia Augusta Emerita*□*Capital of Lusitania* in J. Edmondson□ed.□□*Augustus*□2009□□pp. 427-67□□R. M.Durán Cabello□‘Edifi cios de espectáculo’□in X. Raventós□ed.□□*Les capitales provinciales de Hispania 2.Merida*□*Colonia Augustua Emerita*□2004□□pp. 55-61□

[29] Dio 54.25.5-6□with K. Raafl aub□‘The political signifi cance of Augustus’ military reforms’□in J. Edmondson□ed.□□

Augustus□2009□□pp. 203-28.

[30] □□□□□□□□□*CIL* 10.6011□□□□J. Spaul□*ALA2*□1994□□pp. 20-21□□□□□□□□□□D. Saddington□*The Development of the Roman Auxiliary Forces from Caesar to Vespasian*□*49 BC-AD 79*□□1982□□pp. 15-26□77-82□□P. Holder□*The Auxilia from Augustus to Trajan*□1980□□pp. 5-13□Macrobius□*Saturnalia* 2.4.25□□□□□□Dio 55.4.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Campbell□*The Emperor and the Roman Army 31 BC-AD 235*□1984□□pp. 32-59□243-81□

[31] Dio 54.15.4-7□27.2-3□*Res Gestae* 10□Loeb translation for quote□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 16.4□31.1□Ovid□*Fasti* 3.415-28.

[32] *Res Gestae* 10□with Price in *CAH2* X□pp. 825-7□□S. Weinstock□*Divus Iulius*□1971□□pp. 276-81□

[33] Dio 54.25.1-4□26.1-2.

[34] Dio 54.27.1□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 56□

[35] Dio 54.27.4□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 377□379.

[36] Dio 54.26.3-9□□□□R. Talbert□'Augustus and the Senate'□*Greece and Rome* 31□1984□□pp. 55-63□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[37] Dio 54.28.1.

[38] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[39] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*nam concordia parvae res crescunt*[illegible]*discordia maximae dilabuntur*[illegible]Seneca[illegible]*Epistulae* 94.46[illegible]Sallust[illegible]*Bell. Jug*.10.6 with Syme[illegible]p.343[illegible]n.1[illegible].

[40] [illegible]566[illegible]3[illegible]

[41] Dio 54.28.2-29.8[illegible]Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 64.1[illegible]Velleius Paterculus 2.96[illegible]Tacitus[illegible]*Ann*.1.3.

[illegible]

为了纪念我的归来，元老院投票决定奉献一座“奥古斯都和平”祭坛。

——《神圣奥古斯都功业录》[1]

我的歌将我引领到和平祭坛前……来啊，和平女神，你精致的秀发戴着阿提卡的花冠，让你温柔地停驻在整个世界。再也没有敌人，也没有凯旋式的机会。对我们的领袖，你将是比战争更伟大的荣耀。愿士兵仅仅为了遏制侵略者而战……！愿远近的世界都畏惧埃涅阿斯的子孙，如果有不畏惧罗马的国度，愿它热爱罗马！

——奥维德，1世纪最初十年[2]

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亲爱的提比略，我们的密涅瓦节过得很快活，因为我们整天玩乐，常常流连于赌桌。你弟弟大呼自己运气太差，但最后看来，成绩其实还不错。他开始输得很惨，但后来出人意料地逐渐赢回了很多钱。我输了2万塞斯特尔提乌斯，但这是因为我和往常一样，在游戏时特别慷慨大方。如果我不是这样故意放人一马、礼让别人，我应当赢了整整5万塞斯特尔提乌斯。但我喜欢让着大家，因为慷慨会给我带来永恒的光荣。[14]

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[illegible][33]

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[1] *Res Gestae* 12[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible].

[2] Ovid[illegible]*Fasti* 1.709-18[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible].

[3] Dio 54.29.4-5[illegible]Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 42.1.

[4] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[5] Dio 54.2.5.

[6] Dio 54.25.3[illegible]*Res Gestae* 4[illegible]12[illegible]D. Conlin[illegible]*The Artists of the Ara Pacis. Studies in the History of Greece and Rome*[illegible]1997[illegible]M. Torelli[illegible]*Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*[illegible]1982[illegible]pp. 27-61[illegible]P. Zanker[illegible]trans. A. Shapiro[illegible]*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*[illegible]1988[illegible]pp. 158-60[illegible]179-83[illegible]203-4[illegible]K. Galinsky[illegible]*Augustan Culture*[illegible]1996[illegible]pp. 141-55[illegible]13[illegible]R. Billows[illegible]‘The religious procession ofthe Ara Pacis Augustae[illegible]Augustus’ *supplicatio* in 13 BC’[illegible]*JRA* 6[illegible]1993[illegible]pp. 80-92.M. Torelli[illegible]*Typology*

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[27] Dio 54.33.5-54.4□35.4-5.

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[33] Pliny□*NH* 36.72-73.

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我第十三次担任执政官期间，元老院、骑士阶层和全体罗马人民称呼我为祖国之父。

——《神圣奥古斯都功业录》，35

[illegible]

奥古斯都对他的朋友们说，他有两个宠坏了的女儿，不得不忍受她们。一个是罗马共和国，一个是尤利娅。

——马克罗比乌斯，5世纪初[1]

命运将你提升到崇高的荣誉地位，李维娅，肩负这重担吧……如果你能做得到的话，请挺直脊梁，忘记你的忧伤，保持高昂斗志。当我们寻找美德的理想榜样时，最好你就是罗马人中的第一女性。

——佚名作者，可能写于1世纪初[2]

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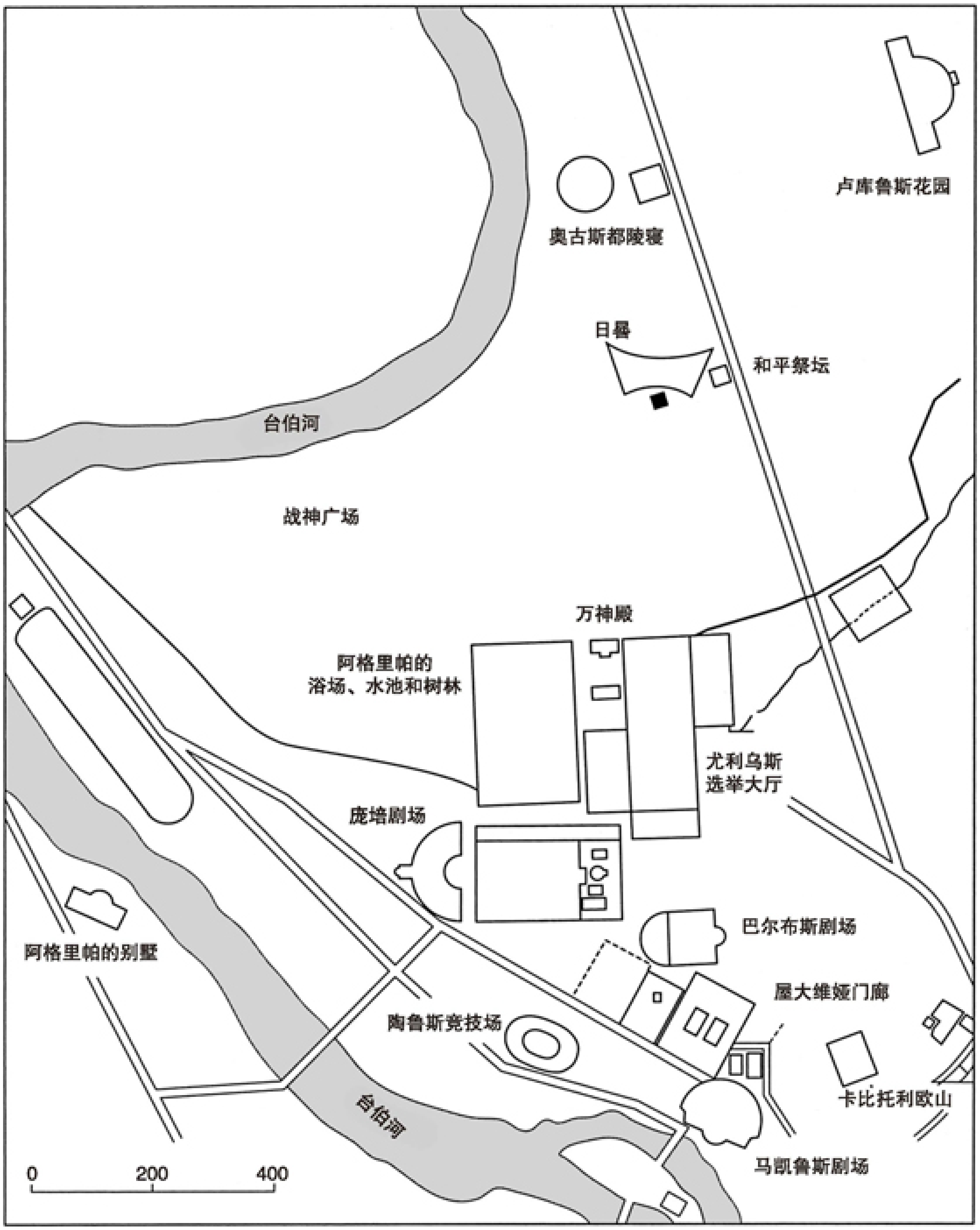
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战神广场
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阿格里帕的
浴场、水池和树林
尤利乌斯
选举大厅
庞培剧场
巴尔布斯剧场
阿格里帕的别墅
屋大维娅门廊
陶鲁斯竞技场
卡比托利欧山
台伯河
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[illegible]·[illegible][49][illegible][50]

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[7] Dio 55.2.4□with Purcell□2009□□pp. 165-8□177-80.

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[9] Tacitus□*Ann*.1.14.3□53.2□with B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□p.37.

[10] Macrobius□*Saturnalia* 2.5.5□7.

[11] Dio 55.6.2-3□□□Caesar□*BG*.4.7-9□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□Plutarch□*Cato the Younger* 51.1-2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[12] Dio 55.6.4-5□with E. Fantham□*Julia Augusti□the Emperor's Daughter*□2006□□pp. 97-8.

[13] Dio 55.6.6-7□Suetonius□*Augustus* 31.2□Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.12.35□*Res Gestae* 8□with M. Boatright□‘The Pomerial extension of Augustus’□*Historia* 35□1986□□pp. 13-27.

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[19] Dio 55.8.2□with A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 46-7□B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 36-7.

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[23] Dio 55.8.6-7□□□□□□*CIL* 6.50705 = *ILS* 3090 with Purcell in *CAH2*X□pp. 800-02□

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[25] Dio 55.9.1-5□with B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 37-8□□□□‘Julians and Claudians’□*Greece and Rome* 22□1975□□pp. 29-38□

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[28] Seneca the Younger□*On the shortness of Life* 4.2-5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[29] Dio 55.9.9□10a.2-3□with Gruen in *CAH2* X□pp. 182-3□and E. Fantham□*Julia Augusti*□*the Emperor's Daughter*□2006□□p.99.

[30] □□□□□□□□Dio 54.30.3□

[31] *EJ* 312 = *SIG3* 780□□□M. Cooley □ed.□□*The Age of Augustus. Lactor 17* □2003□□pp. 197-8□□

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[33] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[34] □□□□□□□□□□□Macrobius□*Saturnalia* 2.4.11□□□□□□Josephus□*BJ* 1.648-53□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*BJ* 2.45-79□

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[36] Suetonius□*Augustus* 58.2[illegible]Crook in *CAH2* X□pp. 101-2□□B. Levick□*Augustus. Image and Substance*□2010□□pp. 91-2□204-5[illegible]W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 193-7[illegible]T. Stevenson□‘The ideal benefactor and the father analogy in Greek and Roman thought’□*CQ* 42□1992□□pp. 421-36[illegible]·[illegible]M. Gelzer□trans. P. Needham□□*Caesar□Politician and Statesman*□1968□□p.315□fn.2[illegible]·[illegible]

[37] *Res Gestae* 35.

[38] Suetonius□*Tiberius* 7.3[illegible]E. Fantham□*Julia Augusti□the Emperor's Daughter*□2006□□□□pp. 81-4□

[39] [illegible]

[40] “[illegible]”□*Naso magister erat*□□Ovid□*Ars Amatoria* 2.744□3.812□□□□K. Galinsky□*Augustan Culture*□1996□□pp. 261-9[illegible]

[41] Macrobius□*Saturnalia* 2.6-7□9□Suetonius□*Augustus* 54.2.

[42] [illegible]

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[43] Dio 55.9.11-16□Suetonius□*Augustus* 65.1□*Tiberius* 11.4□Velleius Paterculus 2.100.2-5□Seneca□*Brevitate Vitae* 4.6□*de Benefi ciis* 6.32□Pliny□*NH* 21.8-9□Tacitus□*Ann*.1.53□3.24.3□4.44□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Ferrill□'Prosopography and the Last Years of Augustus'□*Historia* 20□1971□□pp. 718-31□□□729□□'Augustus and his daughter□a modern myth'□in C. Deroux□ed.□□*Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 2□1980□□pp. 332-46□□A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 48-51□

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[45] □□□□□

[46] Tacitus□*Ann*.3.24□4.44□Dio 55.10.15.

[47] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□□□□□□800□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[48] Suetonius□*Augustus* 65.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□E. Fantham□*Julia Augusti□the Emperor's Daughter*□2006□□pp. 84-91□□E. Leon□'Scribonia and her daughters'□*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 82□1951□□pp. 168-75□□□173-4□Ferrill□A.□'Augustus and his dau

ghter□a modern myth’□in C. Deroux□ed.□□*Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 2□1980□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 202-9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[50] Seneca□*de Benefi ciis* 6.32.

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玛尔斯来了，他降临的时候给出了战争的预兆。复仇者从天而降，欣赏他自己的荣耀和奥古斯都广场上他自己的恢宏神庙。战神非常庞大，神庙也是如此。玛尔斯必须这样居住在他儿子的城市……他看着……神庙立面上的奥古斯都之名；他读到恺撒之名时，神庙似乎变得更宏伟了。

——奥维德，公元前到公元后的世纪之交[1]

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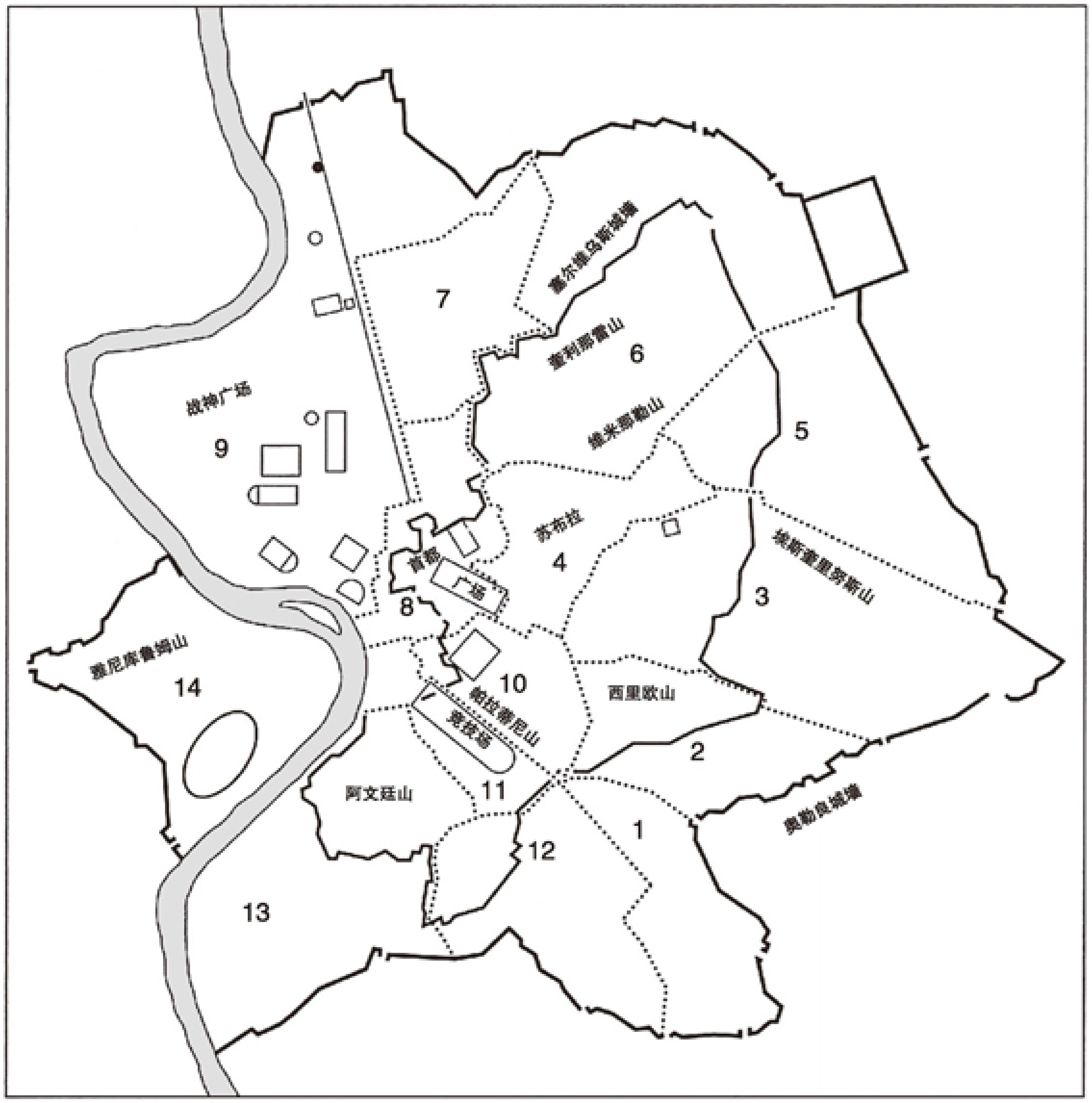

罗马的十四个行政区域

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9月23日

你好，我亲爱的盖乌斯，我最亲爱的小驴子。你不在我身边的时候，我总是想念你。尤其在今天这样的日子，我特别思念我的盖乌斯。不管你今天身在何方，我希望你庆祝我的六十四岁生日，祝我健

康和幸福……我向诸神祈祷，不管我还有多少时间，都要安全和健康地在你身边度过，看着我们的国家如此繁荣，而你们俩都成为男子汉，准备继承我的哨兵岗位。[30]

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[1] Ovid□*Fasti* 5.550-54□567-8□Loeb translation□.

[2] □□□Dio 55.10.6□Velleius Paterculus 2.100.2□Suetonius□*Augustus* 31.5□□Ovid□*Fasti* 5.545-98□□□□□C. Simpson□‘The date of the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor’□*JRS* 67□1977□□pp. 91-4.□□□□□□□8□1□□□□□□□□□□5□12□□□□□□□□□

[3] Suetonius□*Augustus* 56.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[4] Pliny□*NH* 36.11□102□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Camp□*The Archaeology of Athens*□2001□□pp. 93-100□□□□□□□□□□□□□P. Zanker□trans. A. Shapiro□□*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*□1988□□pp. 81-2□113-14□193-215□S. Dyson□*Rome. A Living Portrait of an Ancient City*□2010□□pp. 128-31□□W. Lacey□*Augustus and the Principate. The Evolution of the System*□1996□□pp. 193□197-202□

[5] □□Dio 56.34.2-3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□summi viri□□□□□□□□□□□*Scriptores Historia Augusta*□*Alexander Severus* 28.6□□□□T. Luce□‘Livy□Augustus□and the Forum Augustum’□in J. Edmondson□ed.□□*Augustus*□2009□□pp. 399-415□esp.403-6□□□□□□*CIL* 1□pp. 186-202 □□□*elogia*□□□□□□M. Cooley□ed.□□*The Age of Augustus. Lactor 17*□2003□□pp. 238-9□□□□□□□□□*elogia*□□Pliny□*NH* 22.6.13□Cornelia□*CIL* 1.39□

[6] [illegible]202[illegible]46[illegible]

[7] [illegible]Livy 1.3[illegible]T. Luce[illegible]'Livy[illegible]Augustus[illegible]and the Forum Augustum'[illegible]in J. Edmondson[illegible]ed.[illegible]*Augustus*[illegible]2009[illegible]pp. 406-7[illegible]M. Cooley[illegible]ed.[illegible]*The Age of Augustus. Lactor 17*[illegible]2003[illegible]p.238[illegible]K25[illegible]

[8] Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 31.5[illegible]*Res Gestae* 35.

[9] Dio 55.10.6-8[illegible]Suetonius[illegible]*Augustus* 43.2.[illegible]

[10] [illegible]

[11] *Res Gestae* 23[illegible]Velleius Paterculus 2.100.1[illegible]Dio 55.10.7.

[12] [illegible]P. Zanker[illegible]trans. A. Shapiro[illegible]*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*[illegible]1988[illegible]pp. 105-6[illegible]Purcell in *CAH2* X[illegible]pp. 788-90[illegible]K. Galinsky[illegible]*Augustan Culture*[illegible]1996[illegible]pp. 197-213[illegible]

[13] Pliny[illegible]*NH* 34.48[illegible]35.93-4.

[14] Macrobius□*Saturnalia* 2.4.18.

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[17] Tacitus□*Ann*.1.1□Suetonius□*Claudius* 41.2□□□□M. Toher□‘Augustus and the Evolution of Roman Historiography’□in Raaflaub & Toher□1990□□pp. 139-54□

[18] □R. Syme□‘Livy and Augustus’□*Harvard Studies of Classical Philology* 64□1959□□pp. 27-87□□K. Galinsky□*Augustan Culture*□1996□□pp. 280-87□

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[21] □T. Luce□'Livy□Augustus□and the Forum Augustum'□in J. Edmondson□ed.□□*Augustus*□2009□□pp. 406-15□

[22] Tacitus□*Ann.*4.34□Seneca□*Quaestiones Naturales* 5.18.4□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□R. Syme□'Livy and Augustus'□*Harvard Studies of Classical Philology* 64□1959□□p.58□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□

[23] Suetonius□*Augustus* 51.3□Loeb translation for quote□.

[24] Seneca□*Suasoriae* 4.22.

[25] Dio 55.10.17-18□Ovid□*Ars Amatoria* 1.177-86□203-4 for the quotes□Loeb translation□□□□□177-229□

[26] □□□□□□□□□□□□□B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 39-42□44-6□R. Seager□*Tiberius*□2005□□pp. 23-9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 11.4-5□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 11.2□□□□□□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 11.3□

[27] Dio 55.10.19□Velleius Paterculus 2.101.1□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 11.1□12.2□13.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□G. Bowersock□'Augustus and the East□The problem of succession'□in F. Millar & E. Segal□eds□□*Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*□1990□□pp. 169-88□

[28] G. Bowersock□'Augustus and the East□The problem of succession'□in F. Millar & E. Segal□eds□□*Caesar Augustus.*

Seven Aspects□1990□□p.172.

[29] G. Bowersock□'Augustus and the East□The problem of succession'□in F. Millar & E. Segal□eds□□*Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*□1990□□pp. 172-3□□□□□□□□□□□□2001□□pp. 116-17□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 425□428-9□□□□□□□□□□

[30] Gellius□*NA* 15.7.3□Loeb translation□slightly emended□.

[31] Suetonius□*Augustus* 64.3□89.2□*de grammaticus et rhetoribus* 17.2.

[32] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□P. Wiseman□'The House of Augustus and the Lupercal'□*JRA* 22□2009□□pp. 527-45□□□527-36□

[33] Suetonius□*Augustus* 72.1□73□78.1-2□Pliny□*NH* 33.49.

[34] Suetonius□*Augustus* 72.3□□□□□82.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Z. Yavetz□'The personality of Augustus'□in K. Raaflaub & M. Toher□eds□□*Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*□1990□□pp. 21-41□□□□□□□□□□R. Saller□'Anecdotes as historical evidence□' *Greece and Rome* 27□1980□□pp. 69-83□□□□□J. Clarke□'Augustan domestic interiors□propaganda or fashion□' in K. Galins

ky□*The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*□2005□□pp. 264-78□□K. Galinsky□*Augustan Culture*□1996□□pp. 179-97□□Vitruvius□*de architectura* 7.5.3-4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[35] Suetonius□*Augustus* 73□82.1.

[36] 1□□□□568□□□

[37] Suetonius□*Augustus* 75-77.

[38] Suetonius□*Augustus* 74□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Macrobius□*Saturnalia* 2.4.8□

[39] □□□

[40] Macrobius□*Saturnalia* 2.4.14-15.

[41] Macrobius□*Saturnalia* 2.4.20□Suetonius□*Augustus* 53.3□□□□□□□□□□□Z. Yavetz□'The personality of Augustus'□in K. Raaflaub & M. Toher□eds□□*Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*□1990□□pp. 36-38□

[42] Suetonius□*Augustus* 29.3□86.1-88□95□97.1-2□Gellius□*NA* 10 11.5□24.2.

[43] Suetonius□*Augustus* 72.2□80-83□with E. Gowers□'Augustus and "Syracuse"'□*JRS* 100□2010□□pp. 69-87.

[44] Suetonius□*Augustus* 56.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ Dio 55.10.20□10a.4-5□Velleius Paterculus 2.101.1-3□with A. Sherwin-White□*Roman Foreign Policy in the East□168 BC to AD 1*□1984□□pp. 325-41□

[45] Dio 55.10a.5-10□Velleius Paterculus 2.102.1-3□Suetonius□*Augustus* 65.1-2□Tacitus□*Ann*.1.3.

[illegible]

命运夺走了（恺撒的）伟大名字的希望，但已经为国家恢复了最强大的壁垒……恺撒·奥古斯都没有再耽搁一分一秒；因为他不需要努力去寻找一个人，而只需要挑选一个声名显赫的人。

——维莱伊乌斯·帕特尔库鲁斯，1世纪初[1]

奥古斯都比较能够听天由命地接受亲人的死亡，而不能接受他们的不端行为。

——苏埃托尼乌斯，1世纪末[2]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][43]

[illegible]9[illegible]

[1] Velleius Paterculus 2.103.1-2.

[2] Suetonius□*Augustus* 65.2.

[3] Pisa□*ILS* 140□□□□□□□□□□□□4□2□□□R. Birch□'The Settlement of 26 June AD 4 and its Aftermath'□*Classical Quarterly* 31□1981□□pp. 443-56□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□D. Wardle□'Valerius Maximus on the Domus Augusta□Augustus□and Tiberius'□*Classical Quarterly* 50□2000□□pp. 479-93□

[4] Suetonius□*Caligula* 4.1□□□□□□□B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 47-52□R. Seager□*Tiberius*□2005□□pp. 29-32□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□R. Syme□*The Augustan Aristocracy*□1986□□pp. 104-27□

[5] Suetonius□*Tiberius* 12.2-3□15.1□Velleius Paterculus 2.102□Tacitus□*Ann*.3.48.

[6] Dio 55.13.1a-2□Velleius Paterculus 2.103.1-104.1□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 15.2□□□□□□R. Birch□'The Settlement of 26 June AD 4 and its Aftermath'□*Classical Quarterly* 31□1981□□□□.pp. 444-8□

[7] □□□□Velleius Paterculus 2.104.1□□□□Crook in *CAH2* X□p.105□B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 49-50□R. Seager□*Tiberius*□2005□□pp. 29-32□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 21.2-6□

[8] □□□□□□□□Dio 55.10a.10□Pliny□*NH* 7.149□Tacitus□*Ann*.1.3□Suetonius□*Augustus* 65.1□with A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 52-9□241-2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□B. Levick□'Julians and Claudians'□*Greece and Rome* 22□1975□□pp. 29-38□

[9] Dio 55.13.2.Suetonius□*Tiberius* 16.1□□□□□□□□□□□□*Res Gestae* 6 Augustus□□□□□□□□□□□□

[10] Suetonius□*Tiberius* 15.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[11] Dio 55.13.1□14.1-22.2□Seneca□*de clementia* 1.9.1-10□with B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□p.54□R. Birch□'The Settlement of 26 June AD 4 and its Aftermath'□*Classical Quarterly* 31□1981□□p.447□A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 131-3□Syme□R.□*The Augustan Aristocracy*□1986□□p.266.

[12] Dio 55.12.4-5□Tacitus□*Ann*.1.53.

[13] Dio 55.13.4-7□□□□C. Nicolet□'Augustus□Government□and the Propertied Classes'□in F. Millar & E. Segal□eds□□*Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*□1990□□pp. 89-128□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□16□□□Tacitus□*Ann*.1.37-8□□C. Nicolet□'Augustus□Government□and the Propertied Classes'□in F. Millar & E. Segal□eds□□*Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*□1990□□p

p. 95-6□□□□□□□B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 51-4□

[14] □□□□□□□□Treggiari in *CAH2* X□pp. 893-7□

[15] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[16] Dio 55.13.1a□29.5-7□Velleius Paterculus 2.104.2-107.3□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□R. Wolters□*Die Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald*□2008□□pp. 65-9□

[17] Velleius Paterculus 2.108.1-109.4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tacitus□*Germania* 38-41□Strabo□*Geog.*7.1.3□

[18] Velleius Paterculus 2.109.4-110.2□Dio 55.28.6□□□□□Maroboduus□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□12□□□□□□□□Tacitus□*Ann.* 2.46□

[19] Dio 56.16.3□Loeb translation□.

[20] Dio 55.29.1-30.6□Velleius Paterculus 2.110.2-6□□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*The Roman Army at War 100 BC-AD 200*□1996□□pp. 79-95□

[21] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[22] Dio 55.27.6-28.4□Josephus□*BJ* 2.111-118□*AJ* 17.314.

[23] Pliny□*NH* 7.149□□□□□□□□

[24] Dio 55.24.9-25.6□*Res Gestae* 17□with L. Keppie□*The Making of the Roman Army*□1984□□pp. 147-8.

[25] □Suetonius□*Augustus* 25.2□Velleius Paterculus 2.110.6-111.2□with L. Keppie□*The Making of the Roman Army*□1984□□pp. 168-9□□□V. Ehrenberg & A. Jones□*Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*□2nd edn□1975□□p.368□□□□□□

[26] Suetonius□*Augustus* 24.1□□□□C. Nicolet□‘Augustus□Government□and the Propertied Classes’□in F. Millar & E. Segal□eds□□*Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*□1990□□pp. 99-101□

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[28] □□□□□Dio 55.26.4-5□with G. Watson□*The Roman Soldier*□1985□□pp. 19-20□□□□□□□□□Dio 55.26.1-27.3□

[29] Suetonius□*Augustus* 19.1□Dio 55.27.1-2□with R. Birch□‘The Settlement of 26 June AD 4 and its Aftermath’□*Classical Quarterly* 31□1981□□pp. 450-52□B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 55-9□□T. Wiedermann□‘The political background to Ovid's *Tristia*2’□*Classical Quarterly* 25□1975□□pp. 264-71□esp.265-8□

[30] Dio 55.26.2-3□27.3-5□Suetonius□*Claudius* 2.2.

[31] Dio 55.32.1-2□Suetonius□*Augustus* 51.1□65.1□*Claudius* 2.2□Velleius Paterculus 2.112.7□Tacitus□*Ann*.1.5-6□with R. Birch□‘The Settlement of 26 June AD 4 and its Aftermath’□*Classical Quarterly* 31□1981□□pp. 446-52□□B. Levick□‘Abdication and Agrippa Postumus’□*Historia* 21□1972□□pp. 674-97□□□690-93□

[32] Dio 55.32.1□with B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 51-2□A. Jones□‘The Elections under Augustus’□*JRS* 45□1955□□pp. 9-21□□□13-17□

[33] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[34] Dio 55.32.1□with B. Levick□‘Abdication and Agrippa Postumus’□*Historia* 21□1972□□pp. 690-97□R. Birch□‘The Settlement of 26 June AD 4 and its Aftermath’□*Classical Quarterly* 31□1981□□pp. 448-51□455-6□□A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 57-65□

[35] Tacitus□*Ann*.1.3.

[36] Velleius Paterculus 2.111.3-4□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 55.29.1-32.4□34.4-7□56.11.1-17.1□Velleius Paterculus 2.110.1-116.5□

[37] Velleius 2.113.1-2□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 16.1□with A. Goldsworthy□*The Roman Army at War 100 BC-AD 200*□1996□□pp. 35-7□116-25.

[38] Dio 55.31.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 25.4□

[39] Dio 55.33.5-34.3.

[40] Suetonius□*Augustus* 65.1□4□72.3□101.3□Tacitus□*Ann*.3.24□4.71□Pliny□*NH* 7.75□with R. Birch□‘The Settlement of 26 June AD 4 and its Aftermath’□*Classical Quarterly* 31□1981□□pp. 452-4□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 432□468□□□1986□□pp. 115-27□188-99□

[41] □□□□□□□□□□□□□

[42] Ovid□*Tristiae* 2.207□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□R. Syme□*History in Ovid*□1978□□pp. 206-29□

[43] Suetonius□*Augustus* 65.4□with B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 55-62□Crook in *CAH2* X□pp. 108-9□□□□□□□□□□□□

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奥古斯都盛世笼罩着东方与西方、南方与北方的边境，保护世界的每一个角落免遭土匪劫掠。

——维莱伊乌斯·帕特尔库鲁斯，1世纪初[1]

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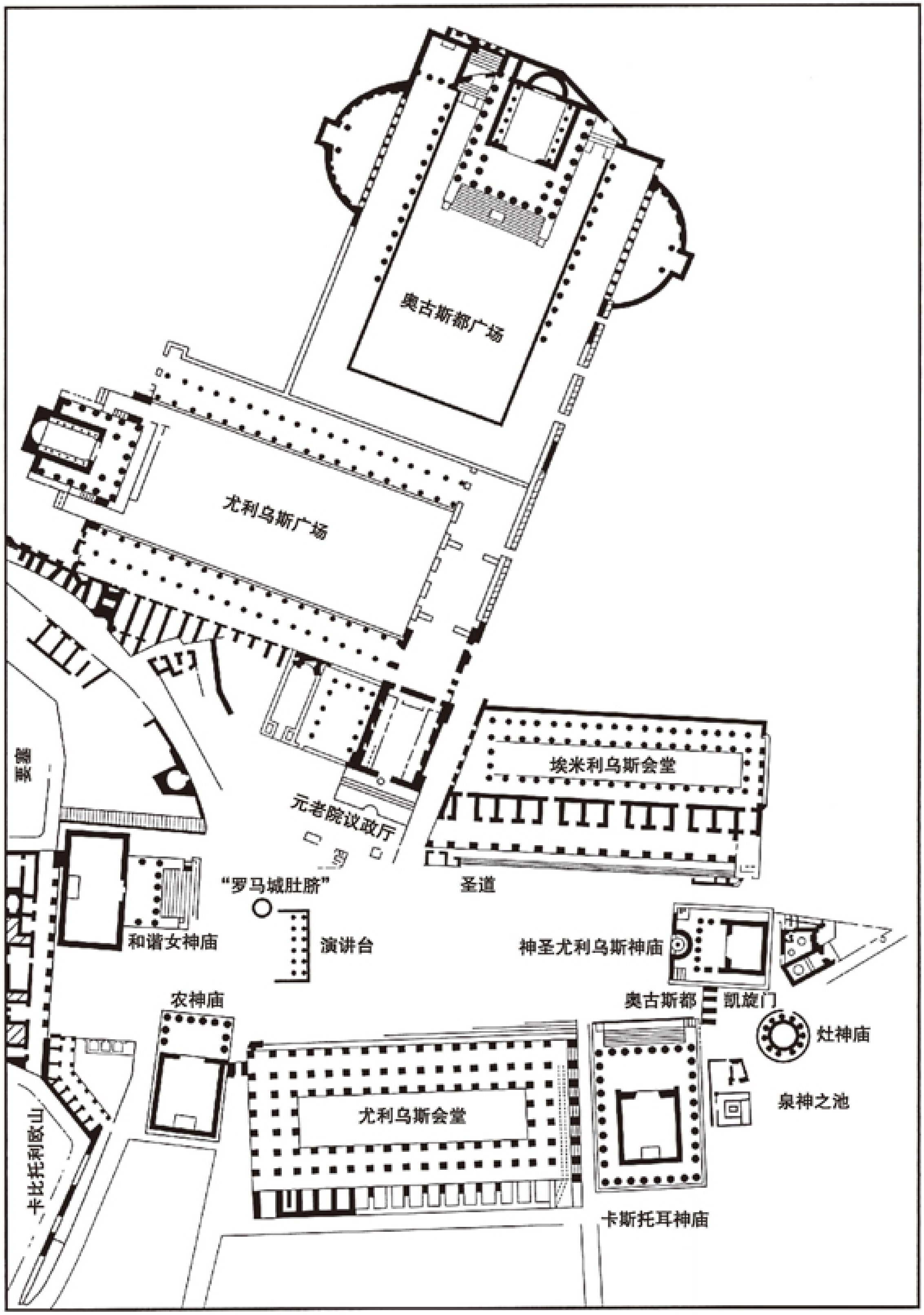

奥古斯都广场
尤利乌斯广场
埃米利乌斯会堂
元老院议政厅
要塞
“罗马城肚脐”
圣道
和谐女神庙
演讲台
神圣尤利乌斯神庙
奥古斯都
凯旋门
农神庙
灶神庙
泉神之池
尤利乌斯会堂
卡比托利欧山
卡斯托耳神庙

公元14年，罗马市中心

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[1] Velleius Paterculus 2.127.3□Loeb translation□.

[2] [illegible]Velleius Paterculus 2.118.1-3□Tacitus□*Ann*.2.9-10□88□with P. Wells□*The Battle that Stopped Rome*□2003□□pp. 105-10□□A. Murdoch□*Rome's Greatest Defeat. Massacre in the Teutoburg Forest*□2006□□pp. 75-97□□□83-6□[illegible]Suetonius□*Augustus* 40.3□

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]P. Wells□*The Battle that Stopped Rome*□2003□□pp. 80-86□A. Murdoch□*Rome's Greatest Defeat. Massacre in the Teutoburg Forest*□2006□□pp. 49-74□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 401□424-5□434□437□

[5] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[6] Tacitus□*Ann*.1.57-59□Velleius Paterculus 2.118.4.

[7] Velleius Paterculus 2.117.2-4 □□□□□Dio 56.18.1-5□

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[9] □□□□□□Velleius Paterculus 2.117.1□□□□□□□Dio 56.18.5-19.4□

[10] Dio 56.20.1-2□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□W. Schlüter□‘The Battle of the Teutoburg Forest□archaeological research at Kalkriese near Osnabrück’□in J. Creighton & R. Wilson□*Roman Germany. Studies in Cultural Interaction. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 32□1999□□pp. 125-59□□□148-9□□□□□□□□□□B. Campbell□‘The marriage of soldiers under the Empire’□*JRS* 68□1978□□pp. 153-66□

[11] Velleius Paterculus 2.118.4□Dio 56.19.2-3□Tacitus□*Ann*.1.58.

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□A. Rost□‘The Battle between Romans and Germans in Kalkriese□Interpreting the Archaeological Remains from an ancient battlefield’□S. Wilbers-Rost□‘The site of the Varus Battle at Kalkriese. Recent Results from Archaeological Research’□□□□A. Morillo□N. Hanel & E. M

artín□*Limes XX*□*Estudios sobrela frontera romana. Roman Frontier Studies. Anejos de Gladius* 13 Vol.3□2009□□pp. 1339-45□1347-52□W. Schlüter□'The Battle of the Teutoburg Forest□archaeological research at Kalkriese near Osnabrück'□in J. Creighton & R. Wilson□*Roman Germany. Studies in Cultural Interaction. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 32□1999□□pp. 125-59□P. Wells□*The Battle that Stopped Rome*□2003□□A. Murdoch□*Rome's Greatest Defeat. Massacre in the Teutoburg Forest*□2006□□M. McNally□*Teutoburg Forest AD 9.The Destruction of Varus and his Legions*□2011□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J. Oorthuys□ed.□□*The Varian Disaster*□*The Battle of the Teutoburg Forest. Ancient Warfare* special issue □2009□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dio 56.19.1-22.2□Velleius Paterculus 2.119.1-5□Tacitus□*Ann*.1.61-2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[14] □□□□□□□□□□□A. Goldsworthy□*The Roman Army at War 100 BC-AD 200*□1996□□pp. 163-5□

[15] Tacitus□*Ann*.1.57-8□71□Velleius Paterculus 2.119.5.

[16] Velleius Paterculus 2.117.1.

[17] Dio 56.23.1-4□Suetonius□*Augustus* 23.1-2.

[18] Suetonius□*Augustus* 23.2□□□□□□□□L. Keppie□*The Making of the Roman Army*□1984□□pp. 163-9□

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[20] Dio 56.22.2a-4□Velleius Paterculus 2.120.1-6□with P. Wells□*The Battle that Stopped Rome*□2003□□pp. 200-12□A. Murdoch□*Rome's Greatest Defeat. Massacre in the Teutoburg Forest*□2006□□pp. 121-8.

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[22] Dio 56.25.2-3.□585□

[23] Suetonius□*Tiberius* 21.5-6.

[24] Dio 56.17.1-3□25.1□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 17.2□*Res Gestae* 4□with B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 61-4□□T. Barnes□'The victories of Augustus'□*JRS* 64□1974□□pp. 21-6□

[25] □□□□□□□□□□A. Wallace-Hadrill□'Family inheritance in the Augustan Marriage Laws'□in J. Edmondson□ed.□□*Augustus*□2009□□pp. 250-74 = *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 27□1981□□pp. 58-80.

[26] Dio 56.1.2-10.3□Suetonius□*Augustus* 34.2□89.2.

[27] □□□□□□□□□□□□

[28] Tacitus□*Ann*.3.25-8 □□□□□□□□□□S. Treggiari□*Roman Marriage*□1991□□□□pp. 60-80□□□K. Galinsky□*Augustan Culture*□1996□□pp. 128-40□□□

[29] Dio 56.25.7-8□27.4□Suetonius□*Augustus* 43.3.

[30] □□Labienus□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.486□□B. Levick□*Augustus. Image and Substance*□2010□□pp. 190-91□

[31] Dio 56.25.4□27.1□Tacitus□*Ann*.1.72□with R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□pp. 486-7.

[32] Dio 56.26.1-3□28.2-3.

[33] Dio 56.28.4-6□□□□□□□□□□□B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 61-7□

[34] Dio 56.29.1-6□Suetonius□*Augustus* 97.1-3□*Res Gestae* 8.

[35] Tacitus□*Ann*.1.5□Dio 56.30.1□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 101.1-3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□R. Syme□*The Roman Revolution*□1960□□p.433□□□□□□B. Levick□*Tiberiusthe Politician*□1999□□pp. 64-5□□□□□□□□

[36] Dio 56.29.2.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 97.3-100.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□D. Wardle□'A perfect

send-off□Suetonius and the dying art of Augustus□Suetonius Aug.99□’□*Mnemosyne* 60□2007□□pp. 443-63□

[37] Suetonius□*Augustus* 98.2□□□□□□□

[38] “□□”□□□□□Suetonius□*Tiberius* 21.2□Dio 56.31.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[39] Dio 56.30.1-4□with A. Barrett□*Livia. First Lady of Imperial Rome*□2002□□pp. 242-7.

[40] Suetonius□*Augustus* 99□Loeb translation□.

[41] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□5□43□□□□□□

[42] Dio 56.30.4.

[43] □□□

[44] □□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 99.1□Dio 31.1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[45] Suetonius□*Augustus* 100.2□Dio 56.31.2.

[46] □□□□□□□□□□□Suetonius□*Augustus* 100.2-4□Dio 56.34.1-42.4□□□

[47] Suetonius□*Augustus* 100.4□Dio 56.42.3.

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的确，民主制有一个美丽的名字……君主制……听起来就令人不快，对人民来说却是最务实的政府形式。因为找到一个优秀的人，比找到很多优秀的人要容易……因为君主制不属于缺乏美德的大多数人……如果曾经有过繁荣的民主制国家，它一定只维持了很短时间。

——狄奥，3世纪初[1]

奥古斯都用赏金引诱军队，用免费口粮拉拢人民，用和平的舒适吸引整个世界，然后逐渐占有了元老院、行政长官和立法者的权力。没有人反对他，因为最勇敢的人都死在了战场上，或死于政治清洗。

——塔西佗，2世纪初[2]

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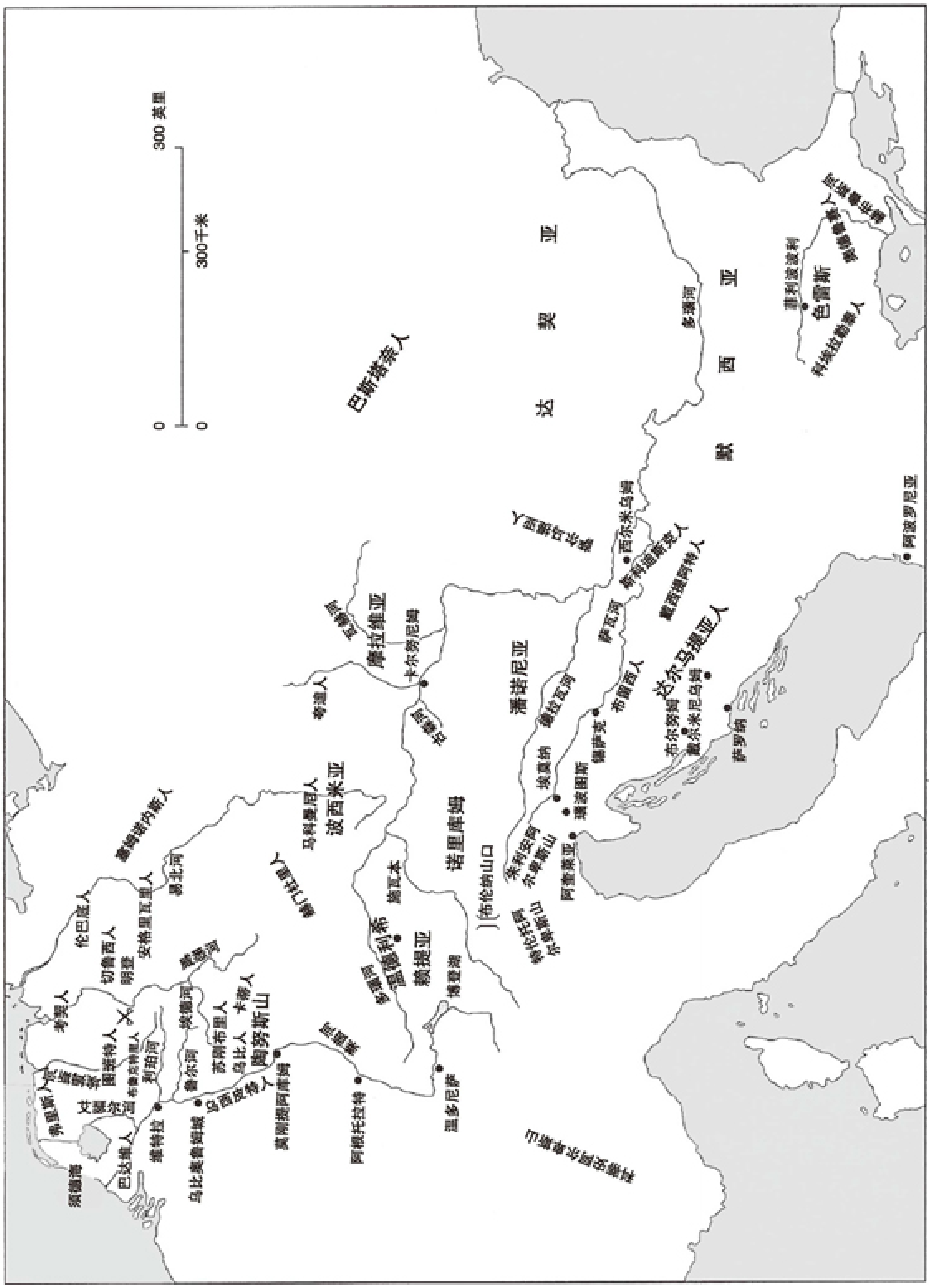

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潘诺尼亚
达尔马提亚人
萨罗纳
诺里库姆
波西米亚
马科曼尼人
雷提亚
温德利希
陶努斯山
乌比人
维特拉
巴达维人
弗里斯人
布伦纳山口
伦巴底人
萨瓦河
德拉瓦河

莱茵河与多瑙河边疆

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[1] Dio 44.2.1-3[illegible]Loeb translation[illegible].

[2] Tacitus[illegible]*Ann*.1.2.

[3] Tacitus[illegible]*Ann*.1.8.

[4] [illegible]Levick[illegible]*Tiberius the Politician*[illegible]1999[illegible]p.247[illegible]n.11 [illegible]

[5] [illegible]Levick[illegible]*Tiberius the Politician*[illegible]1999[illegible]pp. 68-81[illegible]R. Seager[illegible]*Tiberius*[illegible]2005[illegible]pp. 40-59[illegible]

[6] Tacitus[illegible]*Ann*.1.15.

[7] Tacitus[illegible]*Ann*.1.11[illegible]

[8] [illegible]Levick[illegible]*Tiberius the Politician*[illegible]1999[illegible]R. Seager[illegible]*Tiberius*[illegible]2005[illegible]

[9] Eutropius[illegible]*Breviarium* 8.5[illegible]J. Drinkwater[illegible]‘The Principate-lifebelt[illegible]or millstone around the neck of Empire[illegible]’[illegible]O. Hekster[illegible]G. Kleijn & D. Slootjes[illegible]eds[illegible]*Crises and the Roman Empire*[illegible]2007[illegible]pp. 67-74[illegible]A. Barrett[illegible]*Caligula. The Corruption of Power*[illegible]1989[illegible]pp. 172-6[illegible]

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前63年的元老晋升体系

最低年龄要求(岁)	官职	数量(人)	职责
			理论上,从政之前要服十年兵役。一般作为军事保民官,或者在担任行省总督的亲友的幕僚中效力。
30	财务官	20	在罗马和各行省负责财政管理。每一位行省总督配备一名财务官,作为其副手。财务官自动获得元老身份。
	平民保民官	10	只有平民才能获得这个官职,而且它不是晋升体系中必须经过的步骤。保民官的人身神圣不可侵犯,负责保护人民。他们可以否决任何行政长官的行动,可以向公民大会提交立法。
36	市政官	4	不是晋升体系中必须经过的步骤。其中两个职位仅限平民担任。在罗马负责行政管理,包括主持某些一年一度的节庆,并监管粮食供应与公共档案。

前63年的元老晋升体系-续表

最低年龄要求(岁)	官职	数量(人)	职责
39	裁判官	8	在罗马负责司法和行政管理,主持所有主要法庭。一年任期结束之后一般被外派,以资深裁判官或资深执政官的衔级担任行省总督。
42	执政官	2	共和国最高级别的行政长官。在一年任期内留在罗马,按照月份轮流享有优先权。大多数执政官会向公民大会提交立法。一年任期结束之后一般被外派,以资深执政官的衔级担任重要行省的总督。
	监察官	每5年有2人	通常是前任执政官,威望极高,负责监督公民人口与财产普查,并审核元老名录。

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公元14年的元老晋升体系

最低年龄要求(岁)	官职	数量(人)	职责
接近20岁	二十人团成员	20	在罗马负责初级管理工作。
20出头	军事保民官	24	每个军团(驻扎在埃及的军团除外)有一名出身元老家庭的高级军事保民官。有一段时间,奥古斯都也让两名高级军事保民官联合指挥一个骑兵单位。

公元14年的元老晋升体系–续表1

最低年龄要求(岁)	官职	数量(人)	职责
25	财务官	20	财务官的财政工作被减少,仅限于在元老院行省负责财政工作。在罗马,财务官负责协助执政官组织元老院会议,也负责监管罗马的公共档案。
	市政官(平民必须担任市政官或平民保民官,贵族可以跳过这些步骤)	6	失去了管理节庆活动、粮食供应和公共档案的职能。继续执行其他行政职能。
			失去了否决权和向

	平民保民官	10	公民大会提交立法的权力。仍然有权接受公民的上诉，可以参与法律案件。
30	裁判官	12	负责主持主要法庭。现在也负责主持节庆和竞技会。
	军团长	约22	负责指挥各军团(驻扎在埃及的军团除外)。
	资深执政官	约10	元老院行省的总督。

公元14年的元老晋升体系–续表2

最低年龄要求(岁)	官职	数量(人)	职责
理论上,苏拉设置的42岁的年龄要求仍然有效。实际上常采用33岁的标准(我们不知道这是普遍现象还是个别的豁免)。	执政官	2(选举产生的执政官在任上死亡或辞职时,会任命补任执政官来接替)	国家的高级行政长官,有权向公民大会提交立法和主持元老院会议。实际上,执政官的地位低于奥古斯都和提比略,他们在元老院时会坐在两位执政官之间。
	帝国行省总督	约9	帝国行省(埃及除外)和犹太等小行省的总督。每个这样的行省驻扎一个或多个军团。

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[1] [illegible]Tacitus[illegible]Ann.15.44[illegible]Josephus[illegible]*AJ* 18.63-4.20.200[illegible]E. Schürer[illegible]G. Vermes & F. Millar[illegible]*The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* Vol.1[illegible]1973[illegible]pp. 430-41[illegible]*testimonium Flavianum*[illegible]·[illegible]A. Goldsworthy[illegible]*Caesar*[illegible]*The Life of a Colossus*[illegible]2006[illegible]p.30[illegible]

[2] Josephus□*BJ* 2.117-18□*AJ* 17.355□18.1□26□*ILS* 2683□□□□E. Schürer□G. Vermes & F. Millar□*The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* Vol.1□1973□□pp. 258-9□□□*ILS* 918 □□2□□□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Coponius□□□□□□□□□□Tertullian□*Against Marcion* 4.19□Strabo□*Geog*.12.5.6□Tacitus□*Ann*.3.48 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[3] □Goudineau in *CAH2* X□p.490□□□□□□□□□□□□

[4] □□□□□□□□□E. Schürer□G. Vermes & F. Millar□*The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* Vol.1□1973□□pp. 399-427□□□□□□□□P. Richardson□*Herod. King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans*□1996□□pp. 295-8□

[5] □□□□□□A. Bowman in *CAH2* X□pp. 679-86□689-93□

[6] □□□□□□□□□□J. Richardson□*The Romans in Spain*□1996□□pp. 297-8□□□□A. Murdoch□*Rome's Greatest Defeat. Massacre in the Teutoburg Forest*□2006□□p.59□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[illegible]Aedile[illegible]

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[illegible]Aquilifer[illegible]aquila[illegible]

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[illegible]**Forum Julium**[illegible]**Forum Caesaris**[illegible]·[illegible]

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□□□**praefectus**□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□**praefectus urbis**□□□3□□□□□□

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[illegible]**Tribunus militum**[illegible]6[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]tribunus laticlavius[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]tribuni angusticlavii[illegible]

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[illegible]**Urban cohorts**[illegible]3[illegible]praefectus urbis[illegible]4[illegible]

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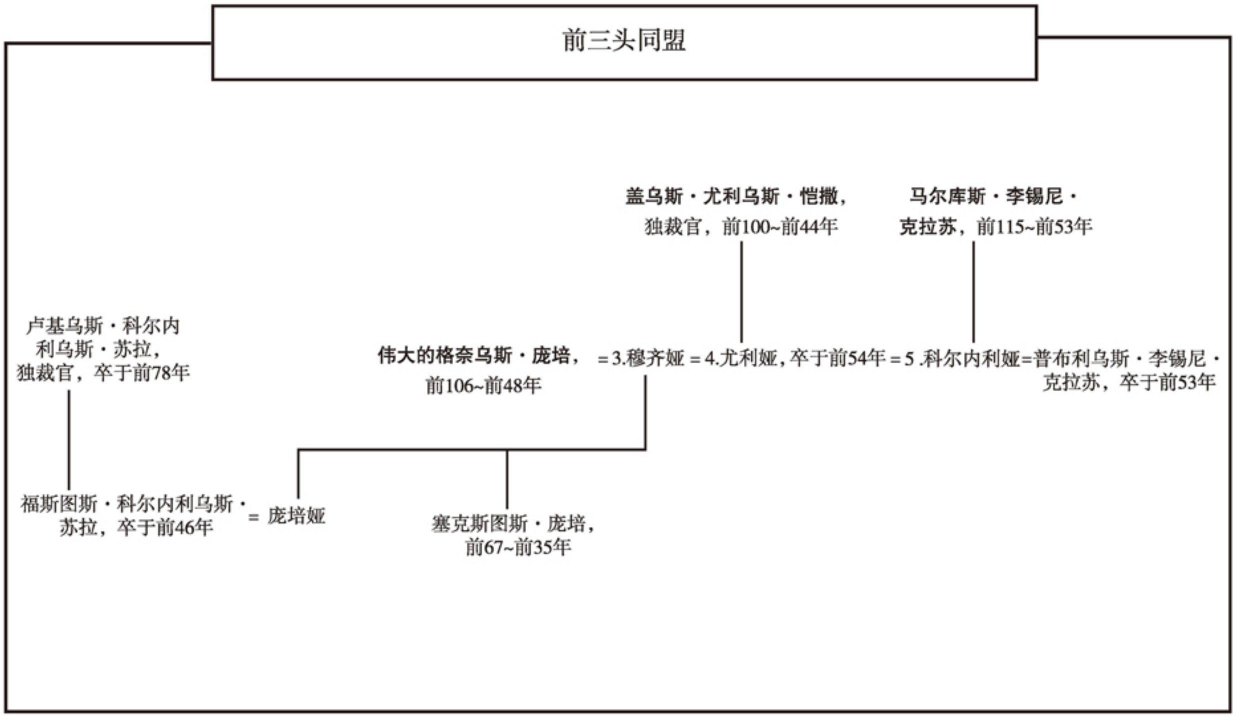
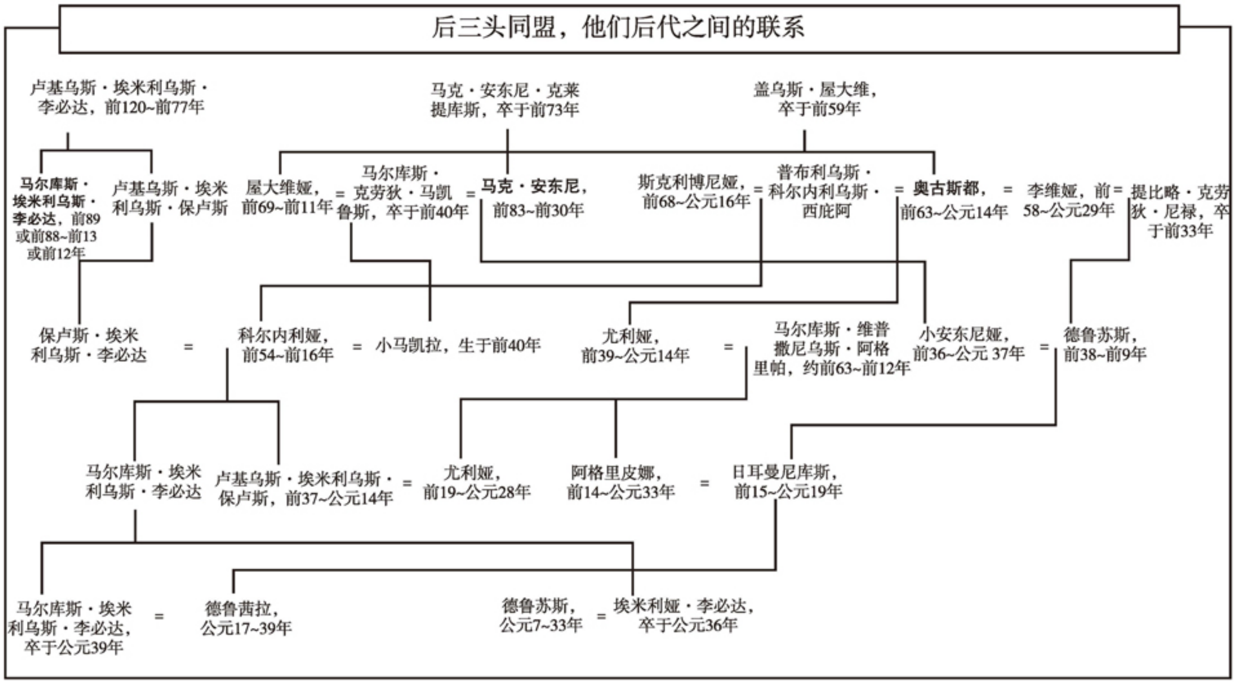
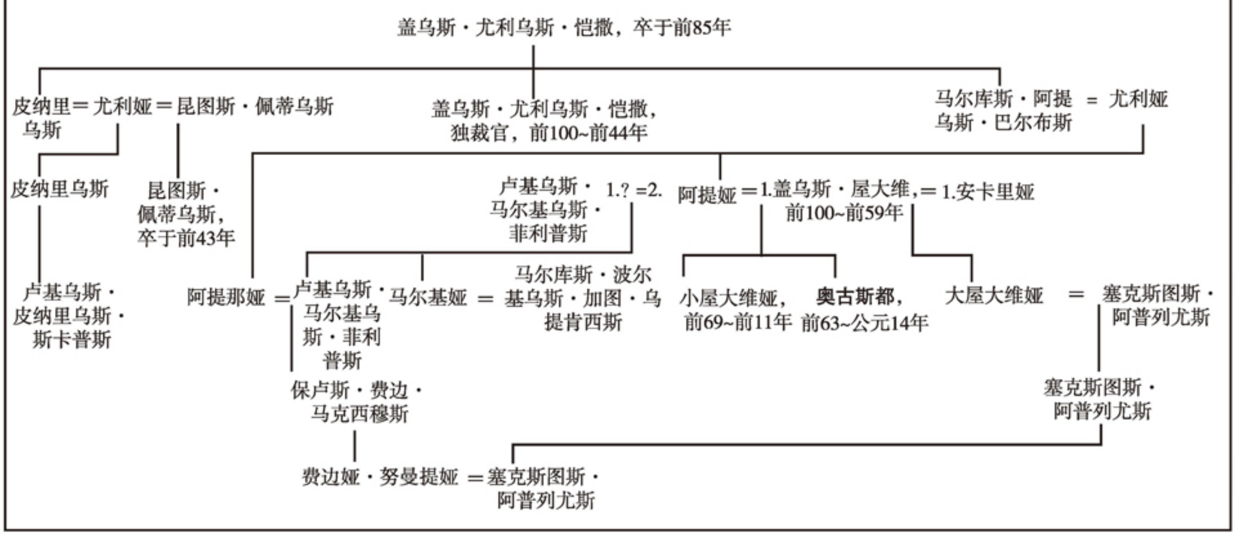


前三头同盟
盖乌斯·尤利乌斯·恺撒，独裁官，前100~前44年
马尔库斯·李锡尼·克拉苏，前115~前53年
卢基乌斯·科尔内利乌斯·苏拉，独裁官，卒于前78年
伟大的格奈乌斯·庞培，前106~前48年
=3.穆齐娅 =4.尤利娅，卒于前54年 =5.科尔内利娅=普布利乌斯·李锡尼·克拉苏，卒于前53年
福斯图斯·科尔内利乌斯·苏拉，卒于前46年 = 庞培娅
塞克斯图斯·庞培，前67~前35年

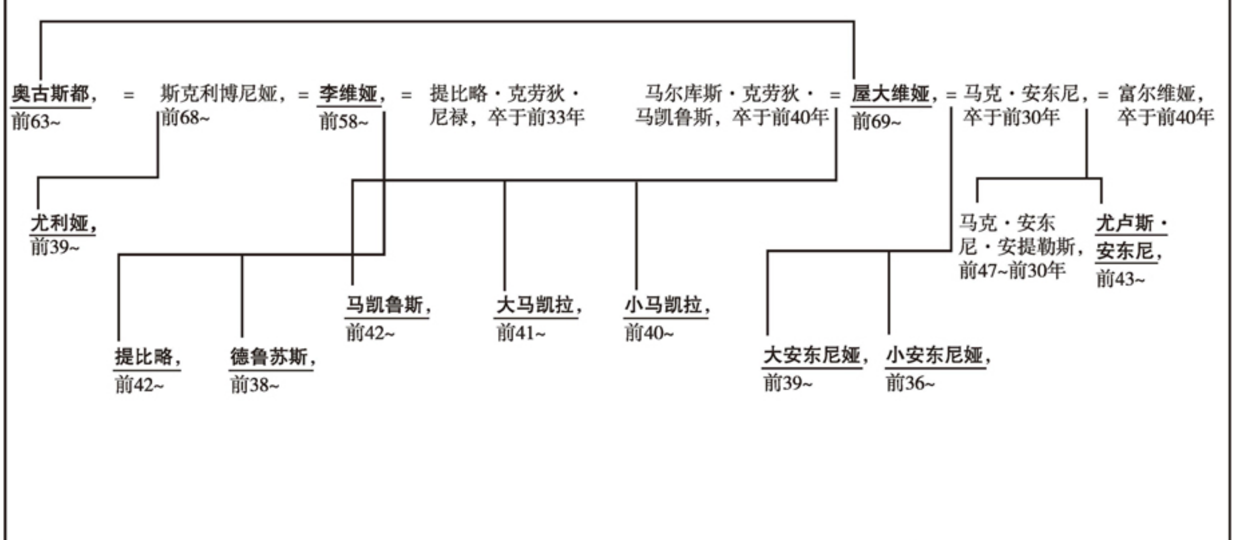


后三头同盟，他们后代之间的联系
卢基乌斯·埃米利乌斯·李必达，前120~前77年
马克·安东尼·克莱提库斯，卒于前73年
盖乌斯·屋大维，卒于前59年
马尔库斯·埃米利乌斯·李必达，前89或前88~前13或前12年
卢基乌斯·埃米利乌斯·保卢斯
屋大维娅，前69~前11年
= 马尔库斯·克劳狄·马凯鲁斯，卒于前40年
= 马克·安东尼，前83~前30年
斯克利博尼娅，前68~公元16年
= 普布利乌斯·科尔内利乌斯·西庇阿
奥古斯都，前63~公元14年
= 李维娅，前58~公元29年
= 提比略·克劳狄·尼禄，卒于前33年
保卢斯·埃米利乌斯·李必达
= 科尔内利娅，前54~前16年
= 小马凯拉，生于前40年
尤利娅，前39~公元14年
= 马尔库斯·维普撒尼乌斯·阿格里帕，约前63~前12年
小安东尼娅，前36~公元37年
= 德鲁苏斯，前38~前9年
马尔库斯·埃米利乌斯·李必达
卢基乌斯·埃米利乌斯·保卢斯，前37~公元14年
尤利娅，前19~公元28年
阿格里皮娜，前14~公元33年
= 日耳曼尼库斯，前15~公元19年
马尔库斯·埃米利乌斯·李必达，卒于公元39年
= 德鲁茜拉，公元17~39年
德鲁苏斯，公元7~33年
= 埃米利娅·李必达，卒于公元36年

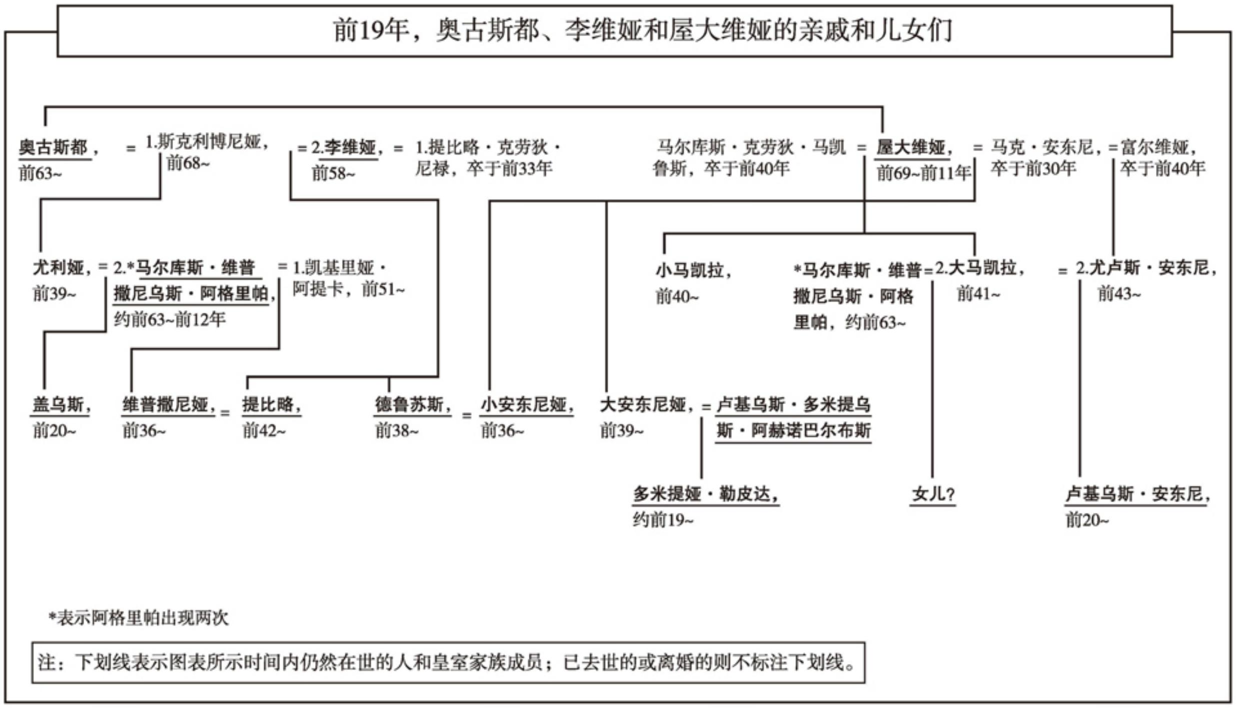
奥古斯都的亲戚们

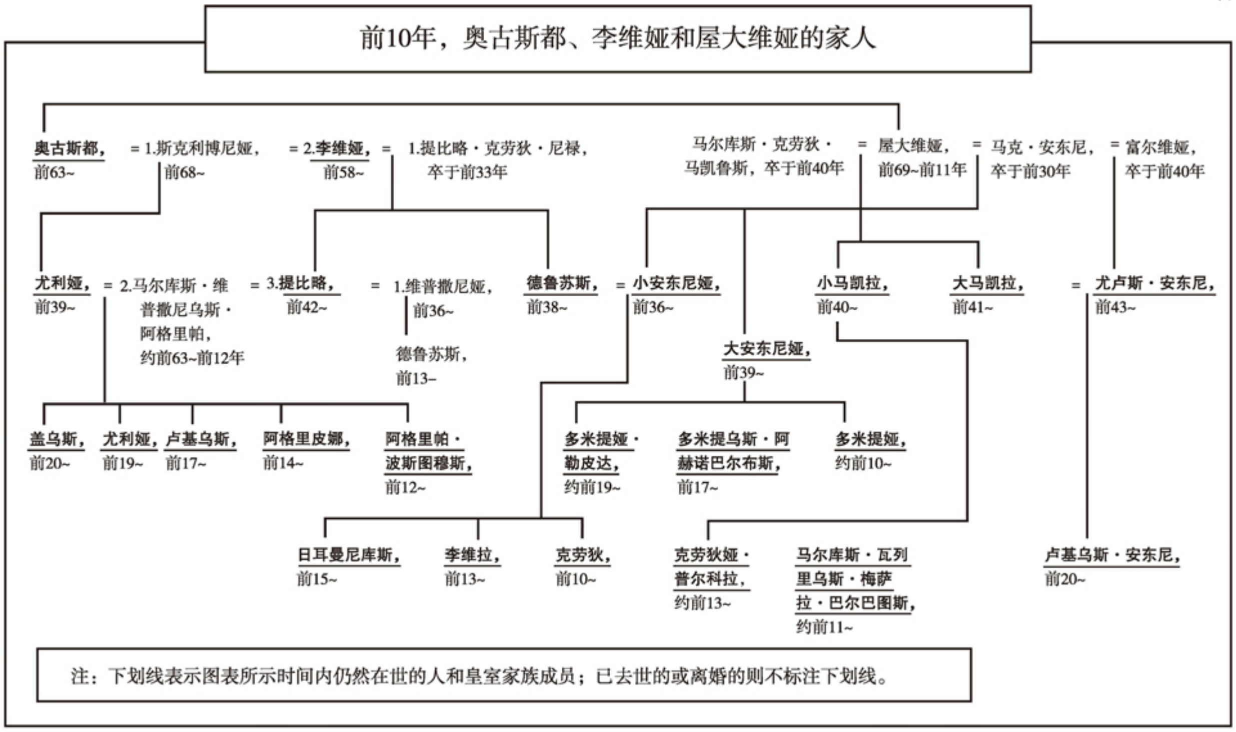


前30年马克·安东尼死时，奥古斯都、李维娅和屋大维娅的亲戚们

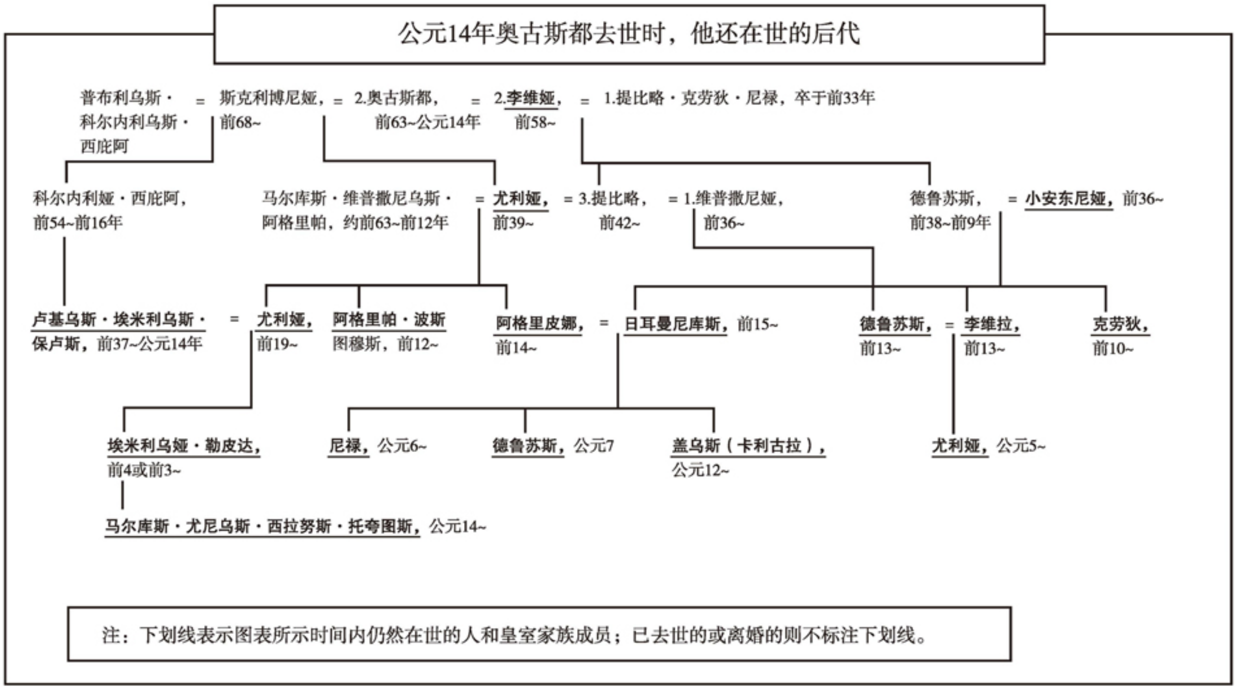


注：下划线表示图表所示时间内仍然在世的人和皇室家族成员；已去世的或离婚的则不标注下划线。

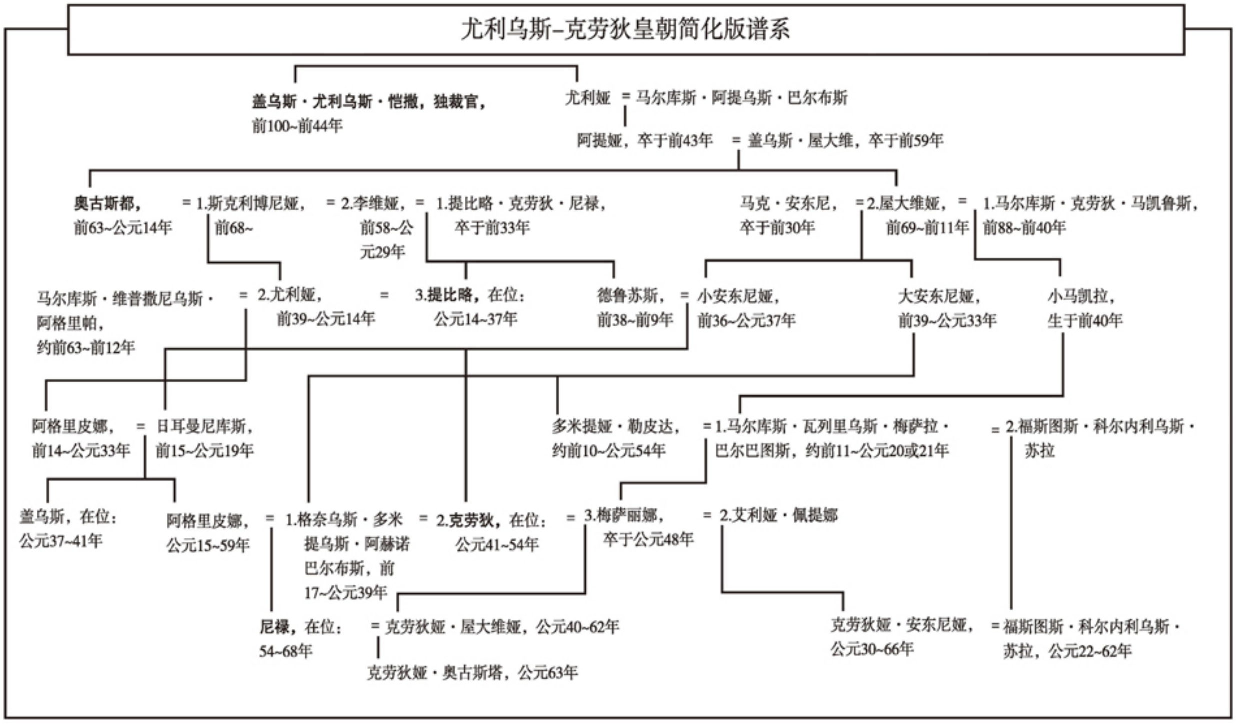

前19年，奥古斯都、李维娅和屋大维娅的亲戚和儿女们
奥古斯都，前63~
= 1.斯克利博尼娅，前68~
= 2.李维娅，前58~
= 1.提比略·克劳狄·尼禄，卒于前33年
马尔库斯·克劳狄·马凯鲁斯，卒于前40年
= 屋大维娅，前69~前11年
= 马克·安东尼，卒于前30年
= 富尔维娅，卒于前40年
尤利娅，前39~
= 2.*马尔库斯·维普撒尼乌斯·阿格里帕，约前63~前12年
= 1.凯基里娅·阿提卡，前51~
小马凯拉，前40~
*马尔库斯·维普撒尼乌斯·阿格里帕，约前63~
= 2.大马凯拉，前41~
= 2.尤卢斯·安东尼，前43~
盖乌斯，前20~
维普撒尼娅，前36~
= 提比略，前42~
德鲁苏斯，前38~
= 小安东尼娅，前36~
大安东尼娅，前39~
= 卢基乌斯·多米提乌斯·阿赫诺巴尔布斯
多米提娅·勒皮达，约前19~
女儿？
卢基乌斯·安东尼，前20~
*表示阿格里帕出现两次
注：下划线表示图表所示时间内仍然在世的人和皇室家族成员；已去世的或离婚的则不标注下划线。

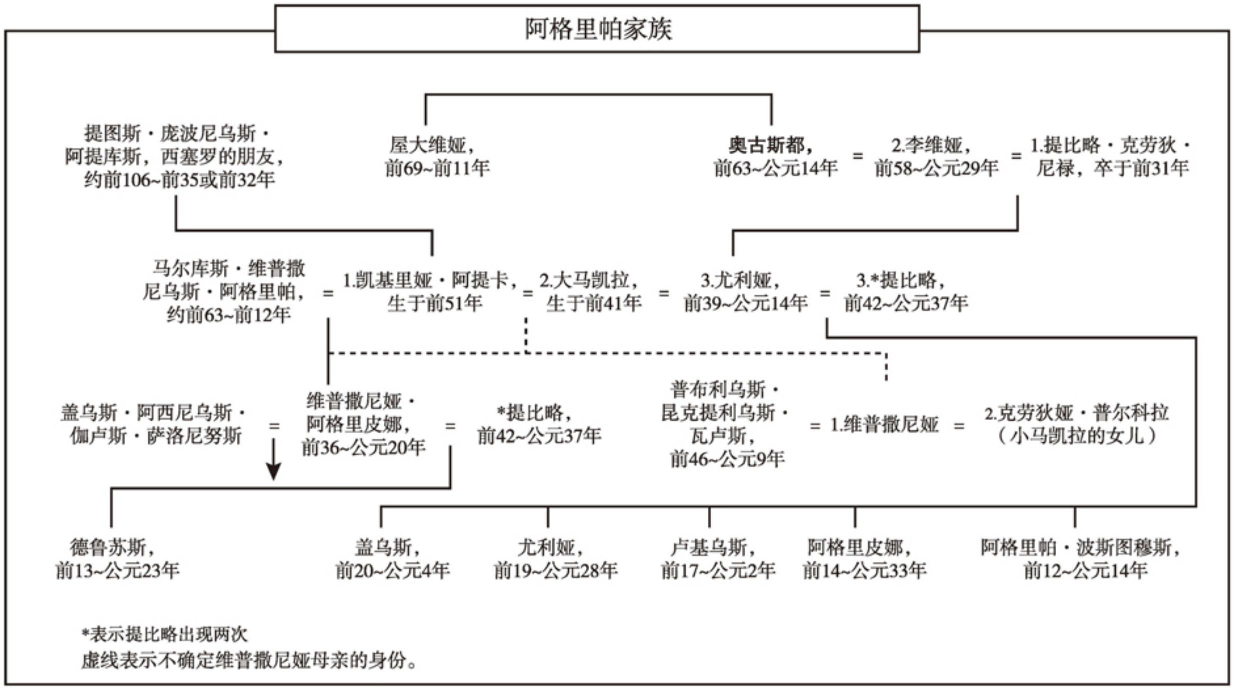

前10年，奥古斯都、李维娅和屋大维娅的家人
奥古斯都，前63~
= 1.斯克利博尼娅，前68~
= 2.李维娅，前58~
= 1.提比略·克劳狄·尼禄，卒于前33年
马尔库斯·克劳狄·马凯鲁斯，卒于前40年
= 屋大维娅，前69~前11年
= 马克·安东尼，卒于前30年
= 富尔维娅，卒于前40年
尤利娅，前39~
= 2.马尔库斯·维普撒尼乌斯·阿格里帕，约前63~前12年
= 3.提比略，前42~
= 1.维普撒尼娅，前36~
德鲁苏斯，前13~
德鲁苏斯，前38~
= 小安东尼娅，前36~
小马凯拉，前40~
大马凯拉，前41~
= 尤卢斯·安东尼，前43~
大安东尼娅，前39~
盖乌斯，前20~
尤利娅，前19~
卢基乌斯，前17~
阿格里皮娜，前14~
阿格里帕·波斯图穆斯，前12~
多米提娅·勒皮达，约前19~
多米提乌斯·阿赫诺巴尔布斯，前17~
多米提娅，约前10~
日耳曼尼库斯，前15~
李维拉，前13~
克劳狄，前10~
克劳狄娅·普尔科拉，约前13~
马尔库斯·瓦列里乌斯·梅萨拉·巴尔巴图斯，约前11~
卢基乌斯·安东尼，前20~
注：下划线表示图表所示时间内仍然在世的人和皇室家族成员；已去世的或离婚的则不标注下划线。

公元14年奥古斯都去世时，他还在世的后代



尤利乌斯-克劳狄皇朝简化版谱系




阿格里帕家族
提图斯·庞波尼乌斯·阿提库斯，西塞罗的朋友，约前106~前35或前32年
屋大维娅，前69~前11年
奥古斯都，前63~公元14年
=
2.李维娅，前58~公元29年
=
1.提比略·克劳狄·尼禄，卒于前31年
马尔库斯·维普撒尼乌斯·阿格里帕，约前63~前12年
=
1.凯基里娅·阿提卡，生于前51年
=
2.大马凯拉，生于前41年
=
3.尤利娅，前39~公元14年
=
3.*提比略，前42~公元37年
盖乌斯·阿西尼乌斯·伽卢斯·萨洛尼努斯
=
维普撒尼娅·阿格里皮娜，前36~公元20年
=
*提比略，前42~公元37年
普布利乌斯·昆克提利乌斯·瓦卢斯，前46~公元9年
=
1.维普撒尼娅
=
2.克劳狄娅·普尔科拉（小马凯拉的女儿）
德鲁苏斯，前13~公元23年
盖乌斯，前20~公元4年
尤利娅，前19~公元28年
卢基乌斯，前17~公元2年
阿格里皮娜，前14~公元33年
阿格里帕·波斯图穆斯，前12~公元14年
*表示提比略出现两次
虚线表示不确定维普撒尼娅母亲的身份。

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Ampelius□*Lib. mem*=Lucius Ampellius□*Liber memorialis*

Appian□BC=Appian□*Civil Wars*

Appian□*Bell Hisp*.=Appian□*Spanish Wars*

Broughton□*MRR* 2=Broughton□T.□& Patterson□M.□1951□□*The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* Vol. 2

Caesar□*BC*=Caesar□*The Civil Wars*

Caesar□*BG*=Caesar□*The Gallic Wars*

CAH^2 IX=Crook□J.□Lintott□A.□& Rawson□E.□eds□□*The Cambridge Ancient History* 2nd edn Vol. IX□*The Last Age of the Roman Republic*□146-43 *BC*.

CAH^2 X=Bowman□A.□Champlin□E.□& Lintott□A.□eds□□*The Cambridge Ancient History* 2nd edn Vol. X□*The Augustan Empire*□43 *BC-AD* 69.

Cicero□*ad Att.*=Cicero□*Letters to Atticus*

Cicero□*ad Fam*.=Cicero□*Letters to his Friends*

Cicero□*ad Quintum Fratrem*=Cicero□*Letters to his Brother Quintus*

Cicero□*Agr*.=Cicero□*Orationes de Lege Agraria*

Cicero□*Cat*.=Cicero□*Catilinarian Orations*

Cicero，*de reg. Alex F.*=Cicero，fragment from the *Oration Concerning the King of Alexandria*

Cicero，*Verrines*=Cicero，*Verrine Orations*

CIG=*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*

CIL=*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

Comp. Nic.=Fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus，*History*

De vir. Ill=the anonymous *de viris illustribus*

Dio=Cassius Dio，Roman History

Galen，*Comm. In Hipp. Epid.*，CMG=Kühn，C.，*Galenus Medicus*（1821-33）（supplemented by Diels，H. *et alii*，1918-）

Gellius，NA=Aulus Gellius，*Attic Nights*

ILLRP=Degrassi，A.（ed.）（1963-5），*Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Republicae*

ILS=Dessau，H.（1892-1916），*Incriptiones Latinae Selectae*

Josephus，*AJ*=Josephus，Jewish Antiquities

Josephus，*BJ*=Josephus，*The Jewish War*

JRA=*Journal of Roman Archaeology*

JRS=*Journal of Roman Studies*

Justin=Justinus，*Epitome*

Livy，*Pers.*=Livy，*Roman History. Periochae.*

OGIS=Dittenberger，W.，*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*（1903-5）.

Pliny the Elder，*NH*=Pliny the Elder，*Natural History*

Pliny the Younger□*Epistulae*=Pliny the Younger□*Letters*

Quintilian=Quintilian□*Training in Oratory*

Sallust□*Bell Cat*.=Sallust□*The Catilinarian War*

Sallust□*Bell Jug*.=Sallust□*The Jugurthine War*

Sallust□*Hist*.=Sallust□*Histories*

SEG.=Roussel□P.□Tod□M.□Ziebarth□E. & Hondius□J.□eds□□*Supple-mentum Epigraphicum Graecum*□1923-□

Serv.=Servius

Strabo□*Geog*.=Strabo□*Geography*

Tacitus□*Ann*.=Tacitus□*Annals*

Valerius Maximus=Valerius Maximus□*Memorable Doings and Sayings*

Velleius Paterculus=Velleius Paterculus□*Roman History*

□□□□□

Achilles □□□□

Actian Arch □□□□□□

Actian Games □□□□□□

Actium□Battle of □□□□□□

Aedui tribe □□□□□

Aeneas □□□□

Aeneid □□□□□□□

aerariummilitare □□□□

Agrippa□Marcus Vipsanius □□□□·□□□□□□·□□□□

Ahenobarbus□CnaeusDomitius □□□□·□□□□□·□□□□□□□

Ahenobarbus□Lucius Domitius□cos.16 BC□ □□□□·□□□□□·□□□□□□□□16□□□□□

Alba Longa □□□□□

Alesia □□□□

Alexander the Great □□□□□□

Alexander Helios □□□□·□□□□

Alexandria □□□□□

Aliso□Haltern□ □□□□□□□□

Allobroges □□□□□□

Amatius□false Marius□ □□□□□□□□□□

Amphipolis □□□□□

Antonia□the younger□ □□□□□

Antonia□the elder□ □□□□□

Antoninus□Iullus □□□·□□□

Antonius□Caius□brother of Mark Antony□ □□□·□□□□□□·□□□□□□□

Antonius□Caius□cos.63 BC□ □□□·□□□□□63□□□□□

Antonius□Lucius □□□□·□□□

Antonius Creticus□Marcus □□·□□□·□□□□□

Antyllus□Marcus Antonius □□·□□□·□□□□

Aphrodisias □□□□□□□

Apollo □□□

Apollonia □□□□□

Appian □□□

Appian Way □□□□□□

Aqua Alsietina □□□□□□□

Aqua Julia □□□□□□□

Aqua Virgo □□□□□

Aquileia □□□□

Aquitania □□□

Ara Pacis Augustae □□□□□□□□

Arabia Felix □□□□□

Archelaus□King of Judaea □□□□□□□□□

Ares□Mars□ □□□□□□□□

Areus□philosopher□ □□□□□□□□□

Argonauts □□□□□

Armenia □□□□

Arminius □□□□□

Arsinoe □□□□□

Artaxias Ⅱ□King of Aremnia □□□□□□□□□□□□□

Astura □□□□

Asturians □□□□□□□

Athenodorus □□□□□□

Atia □□□

Augusta Emerita□Mérida□ □□□□·□□□□□□□□□

Baetica □□□

Baiae □□

Balbus□Lucius Cornelius □□□□·□□□□□□·□□□□

Balbus□Lucius Cornelius□the younger□ □□□□□·□□□□□□·□□□□

Balbus□Marcus Atius □□□□·□□□□·□□□□

Bassus□Publius Ventidius □□□□□·□□□□□·□□□

Bastarnae □□□□□

Bathyllus□actor□ □□□□□□□

Belgica □□□

Beneventum □□□□

Berytus□Beirut□ □□□□□□□□□

Bessi □□□

Bibulus□Marcus Calpurnius □□□□·□□□□□□□·□□□□

Bithynia □□□□

Bononia □□□□

Bovillae □□□

Brundisium □□□□□□

Brutus□Decimus Junius □□□□·□□□□·□□□□

Brutus□Marcus Junius □□□□·□□□□·□□□□

Caepio□Fannius □□□□·□□□

Caesar□Caius □□□·□□

Caesar□Lucius □□□□·□□

Caesar□Lucius Julius □□□□·□□□□·□□

Caesaraugusta□Zaragoza□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□

Caesarea Maritima □□□□□

Caesarion □□□□

Calenus□Quintus Fufius □□□·□□□□·□□□□

Caligula□Emperor □□□□□□□

Campus Martius □□□□

Candace□Queen of Ethiopia □□□□□□□□□□□

Canidius□Publius □□□□□·□□□□□

Cantabrians □□□□□□

Cape Mylae □□□

Capito□Caius Ateius □□□·□□□□·□□□

Capreae□Capri□ □□□□

Carinae □□□□

Carrhae□battle of□53 BC□ □□□□□□53□□

Caryatids □□□

Cassius Longinus□Gaius □□□·□□□□·□□□□

Catiline□Lucius Sergius □□□□·□□□□□·□□□

Catina□Catania□ □□□□□□□□□

Cato the Elder □□□

Cato the Younger □□□

Catullus□Caius Valerius Catullus□Gaius Valerius □□□·□□□□□·□□□□

Catulus□Quintus Lutatius□cos.78 BC□ □□□·□□□□□·□□□□□□78□□□□□

Catuvellauni □□□□□□

Celtiberians □□□□□□□□

Censors □□□

Ceres □□□

Chatti □□□

Chauci □□□

Cherusci □□□□

Cicero□Marcus Tullius □□□□·□□□□·□□□

Cicero□Marcus Tullius□the younger□ □□□□□·□□□□·□□□

Cicero□Quintus Tullius □□□·□□□□·□□□

Cinna□Cnaeus Cornelius □□□□·□□□□□·□□

Circus Flaminius □□□□□□□□

Circus Maximus □□□□□□□

Claudia □□□□

Claudia Pulchra □□□□·□□□□

Claudius□Emperor □□□□□□

Cleopatra Selene □□□□□□·□□□

Cloaca Maxima □□□□

Clodius Pulcher□Publius □□□□□·□□□·□□□

Concordia□shrines to □□□□□□

consilium principis □□□□□□

contubernales □‘tent-companions’□ “□□□□”

Cornelia□Pompey's wife□ □□□□□□□□□□□□

Cornelia□mother of the Gracchi□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

corona civica □□□

corona navalis □□□□

Corsica □□□□

Corvinus□Marcus Valerius Messalla □□□□·□□□□□·□□□·□□□□□

Cossus□Cornelius □□□□□□·□□□

Crassus□Marcus Licinius □□□□·□□□·□□□

Crispinus□Titus Quinctius □□□·□□□□□·□□□□□□

culpeus virtutis □‘shield ofvirtues’□ □□□□

Cumae □□

Curia Julia□Senate House□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Cytheris□actress□ □□□□□□□□

Cyzicus □□□□

Dacia □□□

Dalmatians □□□□□□

Deiotarus□King of Galatia □□□□□□□□□□□

Deldo□King of the Bastarnae □□□□□□□□□□□

Demosthenes □□□□□

Diana □□□

Dido□Queen of Carthage □□□□□□□□

Dio□Cassius □□□□·□□

Dioscuri□cult of □□□□□□□

Diribitorium □□□□

Dolabella□Publius Cornelius □□□□□·□□□□□□·□□□□

Domitian□Emperor □□□□□

Drusus □□□□

Drusus□Marcus Livius □□□□·□□□□·□□□□

Dyrrachium □□□□□

Ebro□River □□□□

Ennius □□□

Ephesus □□□

Epirus □□□□

Ethiopians □□□□□□

Euphrates□River □□□□□

fasces □□□□□

Festival of Augustalia □□□□□

festival of Lupercalia □□□

fetiales □□□□

Flaccus□Caius Norbanus □□□·□□□□·□□□□

Flaccus□Marcus Valerius □□□□·□□□□□·□□□□

Flamines □□

Flavus □□□□

Florus □□□□

Forum Augustum □□□□□□

Forum Boarium □□□□

Forum Gallorum□Battle of □□□□□□

Forum Julium □□□□□□

Frisii □□□□

Fulvia □□□□

Gades□Cadiz□ □□□

Galatia □□□

Galilee □□□

Gallus□Marcus Aelius □□□□·□□□□·□□□

Gallus□Caius Asinius□cos.8BC□ □□□·□□□□□·□□□□□8□□□□□

Gallus□Caius Cornelius □□□·□□□□□□·□□□

Gaul □□□

Gallia Comata□‘Long-Haired Gaul’□ □□□□

Gallia Narbonensis □□□□□

Germanicus □□□□□□

Glaukon□sea god□ □□□□□□□□

Gospel of Luke□□□□□□

Gospel of Matthew□□□□□□

Gracchus□Gaius Sempronius □□□·□□□□□□□·□□□

Gracchus□Sempronius□poet□ □□□□□□□·□□□□□□□

Gracchus□Tiberius Sempronius □□□·□□□□□□□·□□□

Graves□Robert □□□·□□□□

Gulf of Ambracia □□□□□□

Gyaros□□Greek island renowned for its poverty□ □□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□

Hadrian□Emperor □□□□□□

Hall of Liberty □□□□

Hannibal □□□

harpax □□□□□

Helvetii tribe □□□□□□

Hercules □□□□□

Herod the Great□King of Judaea □□□□□□□□□

Hirtius□Aulus □□□·□□□□□

Homer □□

Horace □□□

Hortensia □□□□□

Hortensius□Marcus □□□□·□□□□□□

House of Livia □□□□

Hyrcanus Ⅱ□King of Judaea □□□□□□□□□□□

Idumaeans □□□

Iliad □□□□□□

Ilithyia□goddess of childbirth□ □□□□□□□□□□

Illyria □□□□

Illyricum □□□□□

insulae □tenement blocks□ □□□

Isauria □□□□

Isis □□□

Janus Geminus □□□·□□□□

Jerusalem □□□□

Jesus □□

John the Baptist □□□□

Josephus □□□□

Judaea □□

Julia□daughter of Agrippaand Julia□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Julia□daughter of Augustus□ □□□□□□□□□□□□

Julia□grandmother of Augustus□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□

Julia□mother of Antony□ □□□□□□□□□□□

Julia□wife of Cornelius Lentulus□ □□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□

Julian□Emperor □□□□□□

Julius Caesar □□□□·□□

Juno □□

Jupiter □□□

Jupiter Optimus Maximus □□□□□□□

Kalkriese□near Osnabrück□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Knidos □□□□□

La Tène culture □□□□

La Turbie □□□□□

Labeo□Marcus Antistius □□□□·□□□□□□·□□□

Labienus□Titus □□□·□□□□□

Lake Avernus □□□□□□

Lake Moeris □□□□

lares and *penates* □□□□□□□□

Largus□Valerius □□□□□·□□□□

Latin □□□

Legio V Alaudae □□“□□”□□

Legio VI Victrix □□“□□”□□

Ninth Hispana □□“□□□”□□

Legio X Gemina □□“□□□”□□

Legio XIII Gemina □□□“□□□”□□

Legio XIV Gemina □□□“□□□”□□

Legio Martia □□□□□

Lentulus□Publius Cornelius □□□□□·□□□□□□·□□□□

Lepidus□Marcus Aemlius the triumvir □□□□·□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□

Lepidus□Marcus Aemilius□father of the triumvir□ □□□□·□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Lesbos □□□□□

lex Julia de adulteriis □□□□□□□□□□□

lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus □□□□□□□□□

lex Papia Poppaea □□□□□□□□□□□□

Libo□Lucius Scribonius □□□□·□□□□□□·□□

Licinus□Julius □□□□·□□□□

Livia□Drusilla□ □□□□□□□□□

Livilla □□□

Livy□Titus □□□·□□

Lollius□Marcus □□□□·□□□□

Londinium □□□□□

Luca □□

Lucan □□

ludi Apollinares □□□□

ludi Ceriales □□□□

Lugdunum□Lyons□ □□□□□□□

lustratio □purification ceremony□ □□□□

Macrobius □□□□□□

Maecenas□Caius □□□·□□□□

maiestas law □□□

Manius □□□□

Marcella □□□

Marcellus □□□□

Marcellus□Marcus Claudius □□□□·□□□·□□□□

Marcomanni □□□□□

Mariamme□Queen ofJudaea □□□□□□□□

Marius□Caius □□□·□□

Mark Antony□Marcus Antonius□ □□·□□□

Mars □□□

Marsyas □□□□

Martial □□□□

Masada □□□

Massilia □□□□

Matius□Caius □□□·□□□□

Mausoleum of Augustus □□□□□□

Mausolos□King □□□□□□

Maximus□Paullus Fabius □□□·□□·□□□□□

Menas □□□

Mercury □□□

Messalla Corvinus□Marcus Valerius □□□□·□□□·□□□□□

Messana□Messina□ □□□

Metulus □□□□

Miletus □□□

Milo □□

Minerva □□□

Mithridates VI□King of Pontus □□□□□□□□□□□□

Mount Vesuvius □□□□□

Munda □□

Murena□Lucinius □□□·□□□

Murena□Varro □□·□□□

Musa□Antonius □□□·□□

Mussolini□Benito □□□·□□□□

Mutina □□□

Mylae □□

Naples □□□□

Narbo□Narbonne□ □□□□□□□□

Naulochus □□□□

naumachia Augusti □□□□□□

Neptune □□□

Nero□Emperor □□□□□

Nero□Tiberius Claudius □□□·□□□·□□

Nerva□Lucius Coccius □□□□·□□□□·□□□

Nicaea □□□

Nicolaus of Damascus □□□□□□□□□

Nicomedia □□□□□

Nijmegen □□□

Nola □□

Nomenclatores □□□

Noricum □□□□

Noviodunum□Nyons□ □□□□□□

Numidia □□□□

Octavia □□□□

Octavius□Caius□father ofAugustus□ □□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□

Odrysae □□□□□

Odyssey □□□□□

Olympic Games □□□□□□□

Oppius □□□□

Orosius □□□□

Ovid□Publius OvidiusNaso□ □□□□□□□□□·□□□□□·□□□

Ars Amatoria □□□□□□

Oxyrhyncus □□□□□□

Panathenaic Games □□□□□□

Pandateria□island□ □□□□□□□□

Pannonians □□□□□

Panormus□Palermo□ □□□□□□□□□

Pansa□Cauis Vibius □□□·□□□□·□□

Pantheon □□□

Paros □□□

Parthia □□□

Paullus□Lucius Aemilius □□□□·□□□□□·□□□

Pedius□Quintus □□□·□□□□

Pergamum □□□

Persians □□□

Perusine War □□□□□□

Petronius□Publius □□□□□·□□□□□□

Pharsalus□Battle □□□□□□

Philip Ⅱ□King of Macedon □□□□□□□□□□□

Philippi□Battle of □□□□□

Philippus□Lucius Marcius □□□□·□□□□□·□□□□

Phoebe□freedwoman□ □□□□□□□

Phraates IV□King of Parthia □□□□□□□□□□□□

pietas □piety□ □□

Pinarius□Lucius □□□□·□□□□□

Piso□Lucius Calpurnius □□□□·□□□□□□□·□□

Planasia □□□□□

Plancus□Lucius Munatius □□□□·□□□□□·□□□□

Plebeian Games □□□□□

Pliny the Elder □□□□

Plutarch □□□□

Pollio□Caius Asinius □□□·□□□□□·□□□

Pollio□Vedius □□□□·□□□

Pompeius□Cnaeus □□□□·□□

Pompeius□Sextus □□□□□·□□

Pompey the Great“□□□”□□

Pomponia □□□□

pontifexmaximus □□□

Porta Capena □□□□

Porticus of Livia □□□□□

Porticus of Octavia □□□□□□

Postumus□Agrippa □□□□·□□□□□

praefectusurbis □□□□

praetors □□□

Primus□Marcus □□□□·□□□□

princepsiuventutis □□□□

Proculeius□Caius □□□·□□□□□□

Propertius □□□□□□

Proscriptions □□□□

Ptolemy XIII□King of Egypt □□□□□□□□□□□

Ptolemy XIV□King of Egypt □□□□□□□□□□□

Ptolemy Philadelphus □□□·□□□□□□

Publicani □□□

Puteoli □□□□

Pylades□actor□ □□□□□□□□

Quirinius□Publius Sulpicius□Cyrenius□ □□□□□·□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□

Res Gestae □□□□□□□□□□□

Rhaeti □□□□

Rhea Silvia □□·□□□□

Rhegium □□□

Rhodes □□□

Rhone □□□

Roma□goddess□ □□□□□□

Romulus and Remus □□□□□□□□

Rubicon□River □□□□

Rufus□Marcus Egnatius □□□□·□□□□□□·□□□□

Rufus□Publius or Plautius □□□□□□□□□□□·□□□

Saepta □□□□

Saepta Julia □□□□□□

Sallust□Gaius SallustiusCrispus□ □□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□·□□□□□□

Salvidienus Rufus□Quintus □□□·□□□□□□·□□□

Samaritans □□□□□

Samos □□□□

Sardinia □□□

Saturninus□Caius Sentius □□□·□□□□·□□□□□□

Sava□River □□□

Scipio Nasica□Quintus Cornelius Metellus Pius □□□·□□□□□□·□□□□·□□□·□□□·□□□

Scodra □□□□

Scribonia □□□□□□

Scribonius □□□□□□□

Sebasteni □□□□□□

Secular Games□*ludi saeculares*□ □□□

Segesta□Sisak□ □□□□□□□□□

Segestes □□□□□

Segimer □□□□

Sejanus□Lucius Aelius □□□□·□□□□·□□□□

Sempronia □□□□□□

senatus consultum ultimum □□□□□□□

Servilia□mother of Brutus□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□

Sestius□Lucius □□□□·□□□□□

Severus□Cassius □□□□·□□□

Shakespeare□William □□·□□□□

Sicily □□□□

Silanus□Caius □□□·□□□□

Silanus□Decimus Junius □□□□·□□□□·□□□□

Sisenna□Cornelius □□□□□□·□□□

Social War □□□□□

Sosius□Caius □□□·□□□□

Sparta □□□

Speculatores □□□

Sphaerus □□□□□

spolia opima □□□□□

Strabo □□□□

SUEBI□□□□

Suetonius □□□□□□

Sulla□Lucius the dictator □□□□·□□□□□□

Surrentum□Sorrento□ □□□□□□□□□

Sybilline Books□□□□□□

Syme□Sir Ronald □□□□·□□□□

Syracuse □□□

Tacitus □□□

Tarentum□Taranto□ □□□

Tarragona □□□□□□□

Tauromenium □□□□□□

Taurus□Titus Statilius □□□·□□□□□□·□□□

Tellus □□□□

Temple of Apollo Sosianus □□□·□□□□□□□

Temple of Bellona □□□

Temple of Castor andPollux □□□□□□□□□□□

Temple of Concord □□□□□

Temple of Fortuna Redux □□□□□□□

Temple of Janus Geminus □□□□□□□

Temple of Jupiter □□□·□□□□□□

Temple of Jupiter Feretrius □□□□□□□□□□

Temple of Mars Ultor □□□□□□□□

Temple of Palatine Apollo □□□□□□□□

Temple of Quirinus □□□□□□

Temple of the Divine Julius □□□□□□□□

Temple of Venus Genetrix □□□□□□□

Temple of Vesta □□□

Tencteri □□□□□

Terentia □□□□

Thapsus □□□□

Theatre of Marcellus □□□□□□

Theatre of Pompey □□□□

Thetis □□□

Thurii □□

Tiber□River □□□

Tiberius□Emperor □□□□□□

Tiridates □□□□

Titius□tribune□ □□□□□□□□□

Titius□Marcus □□□□·□□

Tomi □□

Toranius□Caius □□□·□□□□□

Torone□‘ladle’□ □□□□“□□□”□

Trajan□Emperor □□□□□□

Treaty of Misenum□□□□□□□□

Trebonius□Caius □□□·□□□□□□

trianomina □□□

Trinovantes □□□□□□

Trojan Games □□□□□□

Tullia □□□

tumultus □state of emergency□ □□□□

Twelve Tables □□□□□

Ubii tribe □□□□

Usipetes tribe □□□□□□

Valencia □□□□

Valley of the Inn □□□□

Varius□Lucius □□□□·□□□□

Varro□Marcus Terentius □□□□·□□□□□·□□

Varus□Publius Quinctilius □□□□□·□□□□□□·□□□

Veii □□

Velitrae □□□□

Velleius Paterculus□Caius □□□·□□□□□·□□□□□□

Ventidius Bassus□Publius □□□□□·□□□□□·□□□

Venus □□□

Vesta □□

Vestal Virgins □□□□□

Via Aemilia □□□□□□□

Via Egnatia □□□□□□□□

Via Flaminia □□□□□□□

Via Sacra □□

Victory□goddess□ □□□□

Vigiles □□□

Vindelici □□□□□

Vinicius□Marcus □□□□·□□□□□

Vipsania □□□□□

Virgil □□□

Vitellius□Quintus □□□·□□□□□

Volsci □□□□

Vulcan □□□

Waal□River □□□

Waldgirmes □□□□□□□

Weser□River □□□

Xanthus □□□